RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

A Chat with Joe McCarthy *TRB*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — August 21 & 28, 1971, 50 cents

Making Congress Work *Ralph Nader*

Carnal Knowledge *Stanley Kauffmann*

The Austin Story *John Osborne*

Mum's the Word *James Ridgeway*

Arms and the Congress *The Editors*

Ivan Allen Jr. *Jonathan Yardley*

Military Disasters *Robie Macauley*

Summer in the Parks *Peter Barnes*

Airs Above Ground *Harlan Vinnedge*

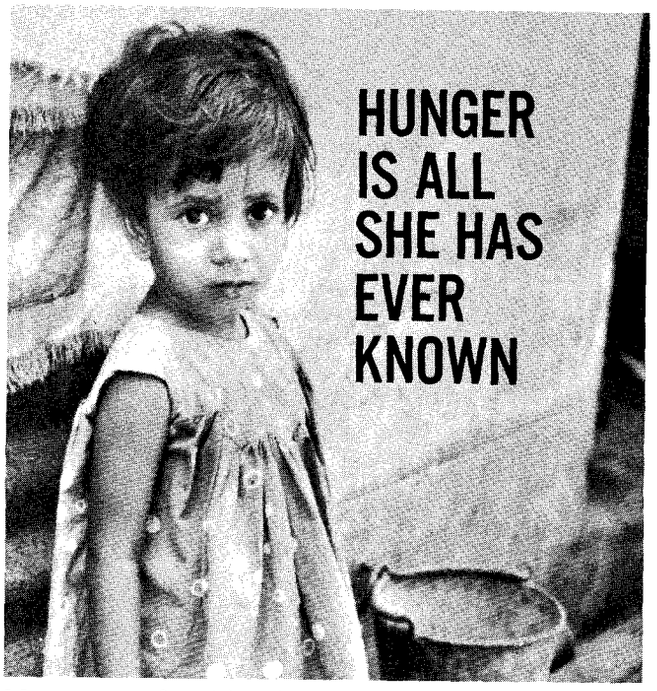
BALDWN WLCE COLL
RITTER LIB PRD
BEREA OHIO 44017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The answers to some questions frequently asked by our sponsors

If you are considering sponsoring a child through the Christian Children's Fund, certain questions may occur to you. Perhaps you will find them answered here.

Q. What does it cost to sponsor a child? A. Only $12 per month. (Your gifts are tax deductible.)
Q. May I choose the child I wish to help? A. You may indicate your preference of boy or girl, age, and country. Many sponsors allow us to select a child from our emergency list.
Q. Will I receive a photograph of my child? A. Yes, and with the photograph will come a case history plus a description of the Home or Project where your child receives help.
Q. How long does it take before I learn about the child assigned to me? A. You will receive your personal sponsor folder in about two weeks, giving you complete information about the child you will be helping.
Q. May I write to my child? A. Yes. In fact, your child will write to you a few weeks after you become a sponsor. Your letters are translated by one of our workers overseas. You receive your child's original letter, plus an English translation, direct from the home or project overseas.
Q. What help does the child receive from my support? A. In countries of great poverty, such as India, your gifts provide total support for a child. In other countries your sponsorship gives the children benefits that otherwise they would not receive, such as diet supplements, medical care, adequate clothing, school supplies.
Q. What type of projects does CCF support overseas? A. Besides the orphanages and Family Helper Projects CCF has homes for the blind, abandoned babies homes, day care nurseries, health homes, vocational training centers, and many other types of projects.
Q. Who supervises the work overseas? A. Regional offices are staffed with both Americans and nationals. Caseworkers, orphanage superintendents, housemothers, and other personnel must meet high professional standards—plus have a deep love for children.
Q. Is CCF independent or church operated? A. Independent. CCF is incorporated as a nonprofit organization. We work closely with missionaries of 41 denominations. No child is refused entrance to a Home because of creed or race.
Q. When was CCF started, and how large is it now? A. 1938 was the beginning, with one orphanage in China. Today, over 100,000 children are being assisted in 55 countries. However, we are not interested in being "big." Rather, our job is to be a bridge between the American sponsor, and the child being helped overseas.
Q. May I visit my child? A. Yes. Our Homes around the world are delighted to have sponsors visit them. Please inform the superintendent in advance of your scheduled arrival.
Q. May groups sponsor a child? A. Yes, church classes, office workers, civic clubs, schools and other groups. We ask that one person serve as correspondent for a group.
Q. Are all the children orphans? A. No. Although many of our children are orphans, youngsters are helped primarily on the basis of need. Some have one living parent unable to care for the child properly. Others come to us because of abandonment, broken homes, parents unwilling to assume responsibility, or serious illness of one or both parents.
Q. How can I be sure that the money I give actually reaches the child? A. CCF keeps close check on all children through field offices, supervisors and caseworkers. Homes and Projects are inspected by our staff. Each home is required to submit an annual audited statement.



Margaret was found in a back lane of Calcutta, lying in her doorway, unconscious from hunger. Inside, her mother had just died in childbirth.

You can see from the expression on Margaret's face that she doesn't understand why her mother can't get up, or why her father doesn't come home, or why the dull throb in her stomach won't go away.

What you can't see is that Margaret is dying of malnutrition. She has periods of fainting, her eyes are strangely glazed. Next will come a bloated stomach, falling hair, parched skin. And finally, death from malnutrition, a killer that claims 10,000 lives *every day*.

Meanwhile, in America we eat 4.66 pounds of food a day per person, then throw away enough garbage to feed a family of six in India. In fact, the average dog in America has a higher protein diet than Margaret!

If you were to suddenly join the ranks of 1½ billion people who are forever hungry, your next meal would be a bowl of rice, day after tomorrow a piece of fish the size of a silver dollar, later in the week more rice—maybe.

Hard-pressed by the natural disasters and phenomenal birth rate, the Indian government is valiantly trying to curb what Mahatma Gandhi called "The Eternal Compulsory Fast."

But Margaret's story can have a happy ending, because she has a CCF sponsor now. And for only $12 a month you can also sponsor a child like Margaret and help provide food, clothing, shelter—and love.

You will receive the child's picture, personal history, and the opportunity to exchange letters. Christmas cards—and priceless friendship.

Since 1938, American sponsors have found this to be an intimate, person-to-person way of sharing their blessings with youngsters around the world.

So won't you help? Today?

Sponsors urgently needed this month for children in: India, Brazil, Taiwan (Formosa) and Hong Kong. (Or let us select a child for you from our emergency list.)

Write today: Verent J. Mills Box 26511
CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND, Inc. Richmond, Va. 23261

I wish to sponsor ☐ boy ☐ girl in (Country)_____
☐ Choose a child who needs me most. I will pay $12 a month
I enclose first payment of $_____ Send me child's name, story, address and picture.
I cannot sponsor a child but want to give $_____
☐ Please send me more information.
Name_____
Address_____
City_____
State_____ Zip_____

Registered (VFA-080) with the U. S. Government's Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid Gifts are tax deductible. Canadians: Write 1407 Yonge, Toronto 7. NR 6980

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW DOES THIS BOOK START?

"You can earn $50,000 a year by playing poker . . . yes, even more if you want to. Any man or woman can get rich by applying the *Advanced Concepts of Poker*. This book is for the penny-ante novice as well as the professional poker player; it is for anyone who will ever pick up a poker hand. Once familiar with the *Advanced Concepts of Poker*, your only limitation in winning money is the extent you choose to apply these concepts.

What is your goal in poker? Do you want to get rich, be the biggest winner in the game, gain confidence, punish another player, or just have more fun? Define what you want, then increasingly apply the *Advanced Concepts of Poker* until you reach your goal. How far should you go? . . . That depends on you and your goals."

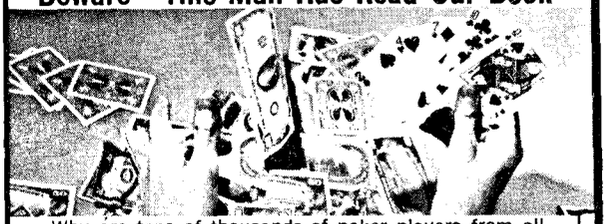
HOW DOES THIS BOOK END?

"John Finn gains a large income by applying the *Advanced Concepts of Poker*. By maintaining the above system of games, he will earn over $1,000,000 from poker over the next twenty years."

"Sorry, but to protect myself, I must discourage poker players from buying this book."— John Finn.

The largest men's magazine in the world declined to advertise this book because —"It would give the reader too much advantage over his competition."

Beware—This Man Has Read Our Book



Why are tens of thousands of poker players from all over the world quietly buying our poker manual? Why are non-poker players starting to buy this internationally best selling book? (Over ¼ million dollars worth.) Consider what the reviewers are saying—

But more important, consider what those who have paid hard cash for this book are saying (in writing and on file in our office):

POKER PLAYERS

"Since reading Dr. Wallace's book, I have won 5 consecutive times. At ten times the price, it is still a bargain." H.B., Kentucky
"I have read your poker manual with great enthusiasm. Most poker books attempt to tell you how to play poker, yours tells you how to win money." S.V., Texas
"I can recall losing money in games where the techniques Dr. Wallace describes were used against me. After reading the book, I am gradually applying Wallace's principles to my game, with 100% success so far!" J.S., Colorado
"Excellent application of one-upmanship. Already paid for in $ and pleasure of observation." N.W., Texas
"Outstanding! Changed me from a consistent loser to a consistent winner!" G.E., Tennessee
"The most superior psychological book I ever read. Increased my winnings without getting better cards." N.S., New Jersey
"Remarkable results. Won 4 out of 5 sessions. For first time really can control the action." D.O., New Jersey
"Increased my winnings by 500 percent." F.J., Texas
"Paid for the book ten times over the first two games after I read it." J.M., Texas
"My game has improved 1000%." G.H., Georgia
"Haven't had a loss since reading the first 75 pages." T.K., Kansas
"I know it's not luck now." A.M., Ohio
"Wish I could have obtained it 30 years ago; I don't dare let my fellow players read it." L.M., New York
"A decidedly new outlook and fresh approach to the old game of poker." Dr. P.J., Indiana
"Of all the poker books I have, I find this one the most knowledgeable." L.R., New York
"The best poker book I've read out of about forty." I.S., Washington
"Most realistic of all poker books." W.L., Virginia
"The best book on the subject of poker—period!!" P.H., Washington, D.C.
"Excellent. As useful a poker book as I've ever read—and I've read every one I've ever seen." Dr. D.B, Texas
"The Poker Manual is the best ever written." Professor T.C., California
"The book was fantastic. I'm only 16 yrs. old. I've gone from losing to winning poker." N.G., Canada
"Decided to give our son these books instead of sending him to college." Z.P., Virginia
"Thank you for writing such an outstanding book on poker. Have found it literally invaluable." A.W., N. Y.

BUSINESSMEN, PROFESSIONALS, STUDENTS, ETC.

"One of the most fascinating books I have read. I felt impelled to read some or all of this book twice or more times with increasing appreciation of this masterpiece. Had so much thought provoking carryover that 15 minutes to an hour of reading drew me into an additional hour or so of enjoyable reflection." H.F., Mass.
"One of the most intelligently written books I have ever read—regardless of the subject." A.S., New York
"Have read it 3 times. Very readable—even for those who couldn't care less about poker." R.C., Washington
"A many faceted book. You get additional meaning on the second reading and more on the third." R.E., Texas
"Poker manual is a thinking program." J.L., Pa.
"Have read it 5 times." H.H., Missouri
"Page 6 is the key to stock market success!" W.K., Ill.
"Worth reading for every successful businessman." B.K., Ohio
"Immensely practical psychology." R.H., California
"Keen analysis of greedy minds." J.L., Colorado
"A good insight into human behavior—and greed." W.B., California
"It really opened my eyes." C.E., Ohio
"More cutthroat than would have imagined." E.R., Tenn.
". . . but above all, inspiring." R.M., New York
(An empty envelope returned in protest.) Rev. H.M., N.Y.
"The most vividly realistic book I've read." J.S., Illinois
"The most amazing book I have ever read." J.B., Ga.
"A wealth of new ideas and concepts." F.L., New York
"Great—Comprehensive and explicit." R.G., Texas
"It has everything." M.Z., Florida
"Really startling." B.M., Kentucky
"One helluva good book!" A.M., Pennsylvania
"The book is fantastic." M.W., Texas
"It's great." T.M., Switzerland
"Definitely a great help." Dr. E.H., Guatemala
"Dr. Wallace's Poker Book is a Knockout." E.B., Mexico

This book is not only crucial to poker players, but is important to all individuals interested in the principles of maximizing money-making situations . . . while remaining impeccably honest.

"POKER A GUARANTEED INCOME FOR LIFE

by using the

ADVANCED CONCEPTS OF POKER"

5th LARGE PRINTING

AVAILABLE FOR IMMEDIATE DELIVERY

Rx Sports and Travel Reports:

"A lot of people who have always figured themselves to be poker players are going to find they belong with the ribbon clerks before they've read two pages of a new book by a plain-talking scholar."

- ***"Starts in where the other poker manuals fold."***
- ***"Dr. Wallace demolishes many a cherished poker rule of thumb."***
- ***"If you're a poker player, this book would have to be the best $12.50 investment you've made."***

This 100,000-word manual is now available after many years of preparation by Frank R. Wallace, Ph.D. This book shows, step by step, how you can win considerable money by applying the "Advanced Concepts of Poker". Thousands of players from all over the world are quietly buying this book. This is what reviewers are saying:

"Cutthroat. May shock the casual reader. One of the most readable and informative volumes to appear." New Haven Register

"A valuable eye opener." The Providence, Vancouver, B.C.

"Presumably unobtainable at Las Vegas." Milwaukee Journal and King Features Syndicate

"If poker is your thing, then this is your book." Bookman's Weekly

"Concentrates on the most important aspect—winning!" The Book Exchange, London

"Shows how to psycho-poker-analyze opponents, how to read them, and how to milk them to their last dollar." American Bridge Teachers Association Quarterly

"Designed for players who want to make poker a means of livelihood." Rouge et Noir News

HERE ARE A FEW OF THE 120 ADVANCED CONCEPTS REVEALED:

- How to be an honest player who cannot lose at poker.
- How to increase your advantage so greatly that you can break most games at will.
- How to avoid winning too fast.
- How to extract maximum money from opponents.
- How to keep big losers in the game.
- How to drive winning players from the game.
- How to lie and practice deceit. (Only in poker can you do this and remain a gentleman.)
- How to see unexposed cards without cheating.
- How to remember all exposed cards and ghost hands.
- How to read closed hands of opponents.
- **How to beat dishonest players.**
- How to control the rules.
- How to stimulate poor attitudes in opponents.
- How to make a good player disintegrate into a poor one.
- How to manipulate opponents through distractions and hypnosis.
- How to locate or create new games for bigger profits.
- How to operate Major and Minor League games with a Farm System.

Any or all of the 120 "Advanced Concepts of Poker" can be mastered by using the unique DTC technique, which will allow you to control poker games and their players.

In addition to offering these powerful, money-making concepts, this book is an in-depth, definitive treatment of poker. The appendix, for example, contains the most complete glossary, bibliography, history . . . and the only accurately defined tables of odds ever published.

And, very important, the fundamental errors embraced by the 133 poker books published in the past ninety years are systematically pointed out in this radically different book.

This book is also crucial for defense . . . for protection against players secretly using these concepts to extract your money.

You can buy this $12.50 hardbound book from the publisher for $9.95 (postpaid) until 9/29/71

I & O PUBLISHING COMPANY
901 Washington St., Wilmington, Delaware 19899

☐ Enclosed is my check or money order for $9.95 for POKER, A GUARANTEED INCOME FOR LIFE.
☐ Enclose Gift Card ☐ Master Charge
☐ Chg. Diners Club ☐ Chg. American Express
Chg. Card # _____
NAME .....
STREET .....
CITY .....
STATE ..... ZIP .....

(10-day money-back guarantee)
Each manual shipped in non-identifying carton.

NRL-871

Nationally Advertised in WALL STREET JOURNAL, N.Y. TIMES, FORTUNE, ESQUIRE, DUN'S, AMERICAN BANKER, TRUE, U.S. NEWS, AMERICAN SCIENTIST, NEWSWEEK, TIME MAGAZINE, ETC. A meaningful and impressive gift with life long value. Not distributed through bookstores.

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $12, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc., 1244 19th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional mailing offices.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A two-inch empty pipe
can carry 230,000 telephone conversations.

The pipe is no bigger than your wrist.

Yet what really makes it news is that there's absolutely nothing inside.

Except room for 230,000 simultaneous telephone conversations.

In the years to come, millimeter waveguide pipe will be buried four feet underground. In a larger cradling pipe to give it protection and support.

It'll also have its own amplifying system about every 20 miles. So your voice will stay loud and clear.

Even after 3,000 miles.

Yet this little pipe is capable of carrying a lot more than just conversations.

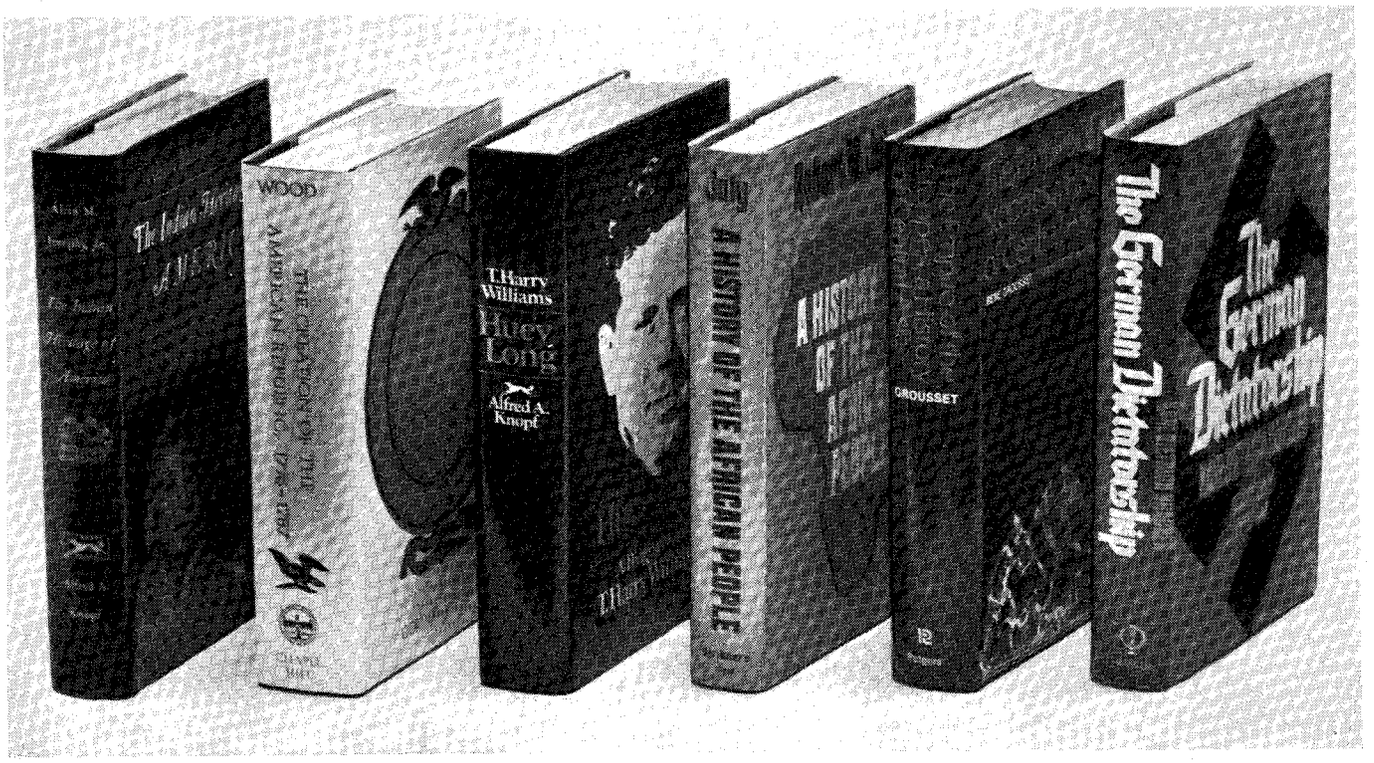
It can also carry TV shows. Picturephone® pictures. Electrocardiograms. And data between thousands of computers.

All at once.

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company and your local Bell Company are always looking for new ways to improve your telephone service.

Sometimes that means developing a better way to use two inches of empty space.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



We invite you to save 50% on the most important books of history and world affairs

First price is publisher's list. Boldface shows member's price.

838. THE CASE OF GENERAL YAMASHITA *By A. Frank Reel.* The grounds on which we tried and hanged him for war crimes. A disquieting book by one of the defense lawyers. **$10.00/$7.50**

827. MOTIVE FOR A MISSION *By James Douglas-Hamilton.* Rudolph Hess's mysterious wartime flight to Britain unravelled by the son of the duke he came to see. **$8.95/$6.95**

369. THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR *By Hugh Thomas.* A spellbinder—the complete history of the grim "dress rehearsal for World War Two." **$12.50/$8.50**

657. THE CREATION OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC, 1776-1787 *By Gordon S. Wood.* Evolution of American political thought from 1776 to the making of the Constitution. Bancroft Award winner. **$15.00/$9.95**

687. ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM IN AMERICAN LIFE *By Richard Hofstadter.* America's historical suspicion of intellectuals—its roots and meaning. Pulitzer Prize winner. **$7.95/$5.95**

726. A HISTORY OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE *By Robert W. July.* Their richly complicated history, ancient to present times. Highly readable. Filled with facts rather than special pleading. **$15.00/$8.95**

104. THE INDIAN HERITAGE OF AMERICA *By Alvin M. Josephy, Jr.* The history, archeology, and ethnology of all Indian cultures in the Americas since the Ice Age. **$10.00/$7.50**

645. THE GREAT TERROR: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties *By Robert Conquest.* The grim and ruthless campaign, its arrests, its interrogations, the mass slaughter and their effects on Russian life and culture. **$9.95/$7.40**

476. THE LIFE OF LENIN *By Louis Fischer.* Winner of the National Book Award. **$12.50/$8.50**

746. EMPIRE OF THE STEPPES: A History of Central Asia *By René Grousset.* The great French historical account of the Mongolian and Turkish invasions in its first English translation. **$17.50/$9.95**

606. HENRY VIII *By John J. Scarisbrick.* A highly praised new study of the monarch at front-center stage. **$10.95/$7.65**

Winner of Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award

105. HUEY LONG *By T. Harry Williams.* Buffoon, menace, dictator—yet voice of an authentic American radicalism. The first full-length story of his life. **$12.50/$8.50**

671. MEDIEVAL HISTORY: The Life and Death of Civilization (2nd Edition) *By Norman F. Cantor.* A lucid, lively and readable book on the total history of the middle ages. **$10.95/$8.50**

750. THE GERMAN DICTATORSHIP: The Origins, Structure, and Consequences of National Socialism *By Karl Dietrich Bracher.* **$15.00/$9.50**

767. CONQUEST OF THE INCAS *By John Hemming.* The death of the great Inca empire at the hands of the conquistadors, based on fieldwork and new research of Inca sources. **$12.50/$8.75**

782. THE ROMANS: 850 BC-AD 337 *By Donald R. Dudley.* "The splendor that was Rome"—from prehistory to the death of Constantine. **$7.95/$6.75**

795. IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE BUDDHA *By René Grousset.* The flowering of Indian and Chinese culture under the stimulus of Buddhism. **$12.50/$8.75**

797. THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE: Military Attitudes, Policies and Practice, 1763-89. *By Don Higginbotham.* **$12.95/$8.95**

828. A HISTORY OF THE VIKINGS *By Gwyn Jones.* **$12.50/$7.95**

103. FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM: A History of Negro Americans *By John Hope Franklin.* A top-ranking historian traces the Negroes' course from African origins to contemporary North and South America. **$12.00/$8.40**

Three good reasons to join The History Book Club:

- **Dramatic savings.** As a trial member, you can save over 50% on your choice of the finest works of history and world affairs—more than 150 titles to choose from each month.
- **Liberal bonus plan.** You are free to select your bonus books from our entire list...no restrictions as in most clubs. After trial membership, you earn a bonus certificate with every four books you purchase.
- **Exceptional quality.** The History Book Club always brings you new volumes identical with or superior to original publishers' editions ...never economy "book club" reprints.

ENROLL NOW TO RECEIVE UP TO $47.50 WORTH OF FINE BOOKS FOR ONLY 99¢

THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB, Stamford, Conn. 06904

Please enroll me as a trial member and send me, for only 99 cents, the three books whose numbers I have filled in:

[ ] [ ] [ ]

Also send me, at the special member's price, my first selection:

[ ]

I enclose no money now. Send bill with books.

Within two weeks, I may return the books and owe nothing. Or keep them and agree to take only four more selections in the coming year from among more than 150 offered each month in the Club Review. I may choose any of these instead of the Editor's Choice, or no book at all, simply by returning the reply card which accompanies the Review.

PRINT NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

A small shipping charge is added to each order. Residents of Canada: Please mail coupon to: The History Book Club, 16 Overlea Blvd., Toronto 17, Ontario

NR 44S

THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB • *Stamford, Conn. 06904*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB

from Washington ®

The Spook

There's a circular stone staircase in the old Capitol where you meet all sorts of strangers, and unexpected people, and ghosts. Coming down the other day I met somebody I hadn't seen in years. "Why, Joe!" I said in astonishment. He had a bulging briefcase and the same blue-black jowls, and a manner that oozed familiarity like the approach of a wet puppy that is trying to wipe its paws on you or take a bite if you turn your back.

"Why, Joe," I repeated, "it's been a long time."

"Oh, I've been here," he said easily, "you haven't seen me, but I've been around. Now I'm worried; worried about the country."

"The trip to China, you mean Joe?" I asked "It's just that the President is trying to better our relations. See Chou En-lai, and that sort of thing. Scotty Reston says Chou talks reasonably – "

The old glower came into his eyes: "I have in my hand a list," he began. "Yes, it's *Life* magazine, June 28, 1954: the editors of *Life* call Chou 'a political thug and a professional assassin,' who 'killed men with his own hands, a ruthless intriguer, a conscienceless liar, a saber-toothed political assassin.' "

"Whew, Joe, that's strong stuff! It brings it all back, doesn't it? But *Life* magazine has changed a lot in 17 years. Why, you called some names yourself, didn't you? There was that line of yours about General of the Army Marshall: 'a man steeped in falsehood, part of a conspiracy so infamous, so immense and an infamy so black as to dwarf any previous venture in the history of man.' "

"Those were golden days, weren't they?" said Joe grinning. "But about this trip to China, take this down for your afternoon edition and I'll have Roy telephone you a follow-up for overnight, 'The senator from Wisconsin said the China trip confirms his charges that the Democrats, ah, are the party of cowardly Communist appeasement. . . ."

"But, Joe, it isn't the Democrats. It's *President Nixon* who's going."

There was a pause. "No?" he said. "Our Dick – going to China?" He seemed nonplussed. "Why he was one of the most patriotic ones we had! – on the UnAmerican Activities Committee; knocked off Jerry Vorhees and Helen Douglas as pinkos; you'll be telling me we're trading with Moscow next."

"Why sure, Joe; just last week the Commerce Department approved licenses for what may be a billion-dollar deal with Moscow with Mack Trucks, Inc."

He stood there weaving a minute like a pug who has taken a bad one on his jaw and is praying for the bell. "Come now," he said ingratiatingly, "I'm sure the common people are sound. They haven't turned soft. Surely they're afraid of somebody! What's my old friend J. Edgar doing?"

"He got a blow, too, Joe, last month. He had a little dandy about 'Mao's Red Shadows in America' denouncing 'pro-Peking subversion,' and offered to distribute reprints. Then suddenly he withdrew it for lack of funds. Between you and me, he got a call from the White House the day after the President announced his trip. You know Washington; he got back quick on the law-and-order track."

"Law-and-order," he said brightening. It was amazing how fast he made his recovery. "That sounds better! How's my Subversive Activities Control Board coming on, that we shoved through over Truman's veto?"

"This will please you, Joe; it's got a new lease on life. President Nixon suddenly revived it; not just against Communists anymore but against anybody the Attorney General puts on his list of subversive organizations. Mitchell nominates them and the SACB investigates them. The order's directed against 'totalitarian, fascist, Communist, subversive and other groups.' Opponents call it the new Inquisition; the new era of McCarthyism."

"No! do they really!" said Joe, rubbing his hands. "What an opportunity; what a hunting license. Not merely those who 'commit,' " he asked, almost pleadingly, "but those who 'advocate' violence, I hope?"

"Why yes," I said, surprised. "Gee, I'd forgotten how fast you are. Now I remember Dick Rovere called you 'the most gifted and successful demagogue this country has ever known.' "

"Oh, you gotta have friends," said Joe, trying to look modest. "You can't do it all yourself. I had people like Pat McCarran and Bill Jenner working with me, and that boy from Yale, what was his name? – William F. Buckley Jr., or something."

"Yes, Joe, he writes a column and edits a magazine now. He was the one who wrote, 'McCarthyism . . . is a movement around which men of good will and stern morality can close ranks.' He never repudiated you."

"You gotta have friends," repeated Joe. "You gotta be bold. Why, I accused both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations of treason. The public lapped it up! You don't have to fear the press. They'll truckle."

"Yeah, we just saw the Justice Department keep *The New York Times* from printing the Pentagon story for a fortnight. And Vice President Agnew and his friends keep the news media off balance."

"And one other thing," said Joe, "you gotta get the public concerned – scared. If they're worried enough they'll believe anything. Tell me now; this Attorney General; he's not going to double-cross us on the SACB is he?"

"Who, Mitchell? Well Joe, he's in favor of wiretapping, and protective detention, and no-knock raids, and sweep-arrests off the streets after peace demonstrations, and he claims the President has inherent power to order eavesdropping without court order."

"That's a beginning," said Joe. "But can Mitchell work 'em up, can he scare 'em?"

"He told a meeting of the Virginia Bar Association, June 11, 'Never in our history has this country been confronted with so many revolutionary elements determined to destroy by force the government and the society it stands for.' "

"That's a start," said Joe, moving off. "Well, I've got a little hearing at the State Department."

"Goodbye, Joe. Quite a start to see you!"

He looked back. "Oh, I'm never far away," he said ambiguously, and went down the staircase.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 165, Nos. 8 & 9, Issue 2956-7, August 21 & 28, 1971. Published weekly (except the issues of July 31, August 14 and August 28, 1971) and distributed by The New Republic, 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50¢. Yearly subscription $12; Foreign $13; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright 1971 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.*

Contents

7-11 Comment
Arms and the Congress, Laos Secrets, Controversy on Television, Democrat Lindsay, Loopholes, The Pension Gamble

12 Watched in the Wild – *Peter Barnes*

13 The Nixon Watch: Austin Story – *John Osborne*

15 Airs Above the Ground – *Harlan H. Vinnedge*

17 Mum's the Word – *James Ridgeway*

19 Making Congress Work – *Ralph Nader*

22 Films – *Stanley Kauffmann*

23 Books – Reviews by *Robie Macauley, Jonathan Yardley, J.M. Edelstein*

24 Poem – *Reed Whittemore*

31 A Communication – *Donald M. Fraser*

32 Correspondence

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – David Sanford
Literary Editor – Reed Whittemore
Films and Theater – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editor – John Osborne
West Coast Editor – Peter Barnes
Production Manager – Ira Klafter
Assistant to the Editors – Gwen Somers
Contributing Editors –
Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Donald Canty, Robert Coles, Joseph Featherstone, Zalin B. Grant, Gerald W. Johnson, Melville J. Ulmer, Paul R. Wieck
London Correspondent – Anthony Howard
Publisher – Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager – Lucy Samuelson
Business Manager – Pearl Wilmer Ramsey
Advertising Director – F. F. McAdams
20 West 43rd St., New York, N.Y. 10036

Arms and the Congress

The Nixon Doctrine nearly came unglued when the House of Representatives suspended military and economic aid for the generals of Greece and Pakistan. This was more than a swat at military dictatorship – it was a check to the Pentagon's policy of global Vietnamization, a policy under which the US supplies police training, military aid and political favors to the presumed enemies of our presumed enemies. As our troops pull out of Korea and Vietnam, arms sale credits and military aid grants become the new legislative priorities. The Departments of State and Defense stumped hard this year for US-equipped and US-trained indigenous forces, fearing that foreign aid might have soured in Congress: "For administrative purposes," Secretary Laird tried to shift the military aid program to the defense budget, out of the purview of the foreign relations committees and into the safer custody of the armed services committees. A surprisingly tough House Foreign Affairs Committee fought for its jurisdiction and pinched off Greece and Pakistan.

Except for this snippet, the House left the MAP (Military Assistance Program) totals untouched at $2.01 billion, which perhaps consoled Mr. Laird for the loss of Greece and Pakistan. But the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted to hold up *all* the hardware and credits unless the Pentagon released its highly classified five-year plan for military assistance. Mr. Laird, who used to talk about the plan all the time, now says it doesn't exist. But Mr. Fulbright and the other senators are demanding whatever internal document it is which blueprints the Nixon Doctrine strategy. This would make clear whose forces the Pentagon will be modernizing in the '70s and whose regimes it will be plugging into MAP. The Foreign Relations Committee is challenging not just the executive practice of withholding information but its choosing of security priorities without assistance from Congress. Too often the Pentagon has given the committees only a peek at its plans for the next fiscal year – plans which ultimately become long-term aid commitments.

Congress has now tried to put some of the pieces together. The Nixon Doctrine, vague on troop commitments and troop withdrawals, becomes intelligible enough on armaments though not always candid. "A MAP dollar," Mr. Laird said last year, "is of far greater value than a dollar spent directly on US forces." MAP, presumably, will ransom US troops from overseas jungles, meanwhile sharpening

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the US identity with regimes that qualify as sufficiently anticommunist.

The administration has lied about arms deliveries to Yahya Khan's army, which since March has been hunting down the ragged remnants of Bengalis in East Pakistan. Both the House committee and the World Bank have issued damning reports of the slaughter. Others have detected the beginnings of yet another American entrapment in a civil war. The State Department has moved boldly in two directions simultaneously. It stopped delivery to Pakistan of "lethal items" (such as guns and cannons), continued sending sundry "nonlethal" items (such as ammunition and firing pins), and refused to halt military hardware "in the pipeline." As Senator Kennedy discovered, that pipeline is very long. Arms that were paid for in the budget of three years ago were still being readied for shipment when the civil war erupted last April. Late in June, Kennedy asked the GAO to pry into this ubiquitous pipeline which allows the State Department both to cut off military aid and step up its delivery.

Why Pakistan needs US arms at all, even by the security-conscious lights of the Nixon Doctrine, is one of the riddles of MAP. To protect itself from China? Or are we arming it against the Indians? No. We are arming it against its own people. Pakistan is wholly without prejudice as to the source of supply. It has received aid from China, including 80 MIG 19 fighters, despite its adherence to the SEATO alliance – which was directed against China! Today, US grainships carry US-armed Pakistani troops to shore up Khan's regime against the Pakistani majority in the East; M-24 tanks and F-86 aircraft were arriving up to June.

The Soviets finally saw the light, cut their arms aid to Pakistan and last week signed a 20-year friendship pact with India. The treaty has polarized the subcontinent and left as Pakistan's two big-power patrons an odd couple – the US and China. MAP for anyone at any price has soured against us the world's largest democracy. India has admitted close to seven million Bengali refugees, trailing after them famine and a wasting epidemic of cholera. What US military advisers may view as internal security, the Indians see as savage communal repression of the Bengalis. No, says the State Department, by continuing our economic aid to Pakistan, we will have more "leverage" with Khan. Any government that can facilitate genocide and call it a police action would hardly know what to do with such leverage.

With more tribal bloodbaths in prospect, the State Department might reflect on the humanitarian responsibilities of the world's major arms supplier; they are not without practical significance. The US invasion of Cambodia helped create over a million refugees, but not one dollar went into the administration budget last year for their relief. The House Foreign Affairs Committee on its own added $100 million for the Bengali refugees, and the Saxbe-Church amendment in the Senate would suspend aid to Pakistan until effective relief measures are instituted. Congress is wisely stressing funding this relief through international agencies like the Red Cross, WHO, UNICEF and the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. The administration has at last responded with a $70-million pledge for the Bengali homeless in India, and last week Secretary of State Rogers discussed with Mr. Thant how the US and UN could cooperate in the relief work.

The State Department has considerable faith that military assistance buys political influence, even though it admits it has no control over the way arms are used. Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco emphasized this point in his testimony on behalf of the Greek junta, for which the administration tried to resume military assistance at double the 1966 levels. Pipeline deliveries, Congress discovered, made it possible for the US to help prop up the colonels even during the arms embargo. According to the investigators of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "Greece received even larger amounts of US military assistance, taking all categories combined, during the three years and five months the embargo was in effect than in the equivalent period before the embargo." As a result, the State Department could wistfully suggest, "the trend toward a constitutional order [in Greece] has been established." We are asked by Commerce Secretary Stans to take note of "the sense of security" the Papadopolous government has given American business. Visiting Greek generals like Odysseus Anghelis have made chummy appearances here with American officials.

Who's being kidded? Not the Greeks. The European subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, chaired by Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal, depicts the colonels as rebels against a constitutional monarchy, and rips into what Rep. John Brademas calls "the bland language and false assurances that have characterized the Department of State's attitude toward the junta."

Shortly after the House committee vote on Greece and Pakistan, Senator Frank Church's subcommittee on western hemisphere affairs released some information about our training and security assistance programs for Brazil. Police training touches all the most sensitive instruments for political repression: censorship, cordon and search operations, cryptography, defoliation, interrogation, and surveillance, among others. According to Church such programs "are not so much iniquitous as they are nullities. I don't believe that the advisers engaged in those programs really do much of anything." But the senator hopes to shut down permanently this close collaboration with the armed forces of Brazil, whose repressive regime has already taken in over $2 billion of US aid.

Such US public safety programs as the ones in Pakistan, Greece and Brazil have led the people of those countries to believe that the US is in league with their oppressors. Well, we are. And it is fortunate that Con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gress, the erstwhile rubber stamp for US foreign policy, is beginning to send out other signals to these publics. Yankee imperialism cannot be running rampant if the House of Representatives can block the President's request for Greece and Pakistan. Congress still must tackle setting up tougher qualifications for aid. That task grows in importance as MAP and Military Foreign Sales become central to defense strategy under the Nixon Doctrine. The old criteria, dating back to the Mutual Security Act, stress only that the military aid be used in self-defense. Naturally, even Pakistan would claim self-defense to hold onto MAP money; who wouldn't? And in any case the President can waive any congressional restriction by declaring an emergency. Making sure that dollars abroad are spent in ways that do not shame or ultimately damage the United States is the business of Congress, and even some of the House committees may be about ready to undertake it.

Laos Secrets

According to a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the CIA has carved out its own military satrapy in Laos. A 23-page staff report released August 3 says that the agency maintains a force of 30,000 irregulars and recruits many of these soldiers from Thailand. These irregulars are "the main cutting edge" of the decrepit Royal Laotian Army – that is to say, the Vientiane regime has almost given up, and the rest of the army won't fight at all. "The Royal Lao Government continues to be almost totally dependent on the US, perhaps more dependent than any other government in the world." Washington in turn has become almost totally dependent on hired Asian professionals, some 4500 of whom were lifted out of Thai commands at annual salaries of $7000.

This partial audit of the administration's Laos budget put our current expenses there at $284.2 million and credited about $70 million to the CIA. Mr. Symington, the subcommittee chairman, told a closed session of the Senate on June 7 that the cost overruns for the 1970 program came to $72 million. "Before the fiscal year 1972 even begins," he warned, "plans are being made to spend more than twice the amount being requested of Congress by the executive branch." The government will be spending $374 million, at least eight times the amount that Vientiane will spend to defend itself. But even this does not include the secret funds paid out for Thai troops and the Pentagon air war. All that would add $400 million more.

The new report makes one wonder how Congress lost track of our multiple wars in Indochina. Part of the blame is Mr. Nixon's, whose major statement on Laos in March 1970 omitted mention of massive B-52 raids in northern Laos begun only a month before. A year later, when the cost overruns started to show up, the Senate dispatched its own team of investigators to Laos. They found that the Pentagon had intrigued against congressional restrictions attached to the 1970-71 Defense appropriations bill, which prohibited the Department of Defense from financing Thai soldiers for Laos duty. There was to be no money for mercenaries, Congress thought it had said. But somehow in the undergrowth of Pentagon flow charts and budget pipelines, the administration found the necessary ways and means. First, it spent more money than ever through the CIA. Then, under CIA auspices, it spent the Pentagon money that had already been appropriated, technically avoiding the bans laid on the Defense Department. "By a process of osmosis," Mr. Fulbright complained in the Senate, "the CIA has become another Defense Department, and furthermore, a Defense Department that we cannot restrict."

During five weeks of negotiations with the Symington subcommittee, the administration did its best to sanitize the Laos study. Here is the first official public document even to mention the CIA in any connection with Laos, though the actual expenditures of the CIA were finally stricken from the record. It is clear from the report that the executive branch can use the CIA as an agency of last resort to make nonsense out of congressional oversight.

Controversy on Television

Two years ago a group called Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace tried to purchase air time from an all-news radio station in Washington for broadcast of one-minute advertisements against the war. The station refused the ads, saying that discussion of such "controversial" topics must be reserved for its regular program time. Meanwhile, the Democratic National Committee sought a ruling from the Federal Communications Commission that its own paid comment on public issues was acceptable. The DNC request was taken up by the FCC in the same breath as the Business Executives' complaint about the radio station, and both were denied.

But there is no more persistent critic of the FCC than the US Court of Appeals for the DC Circuit, which has direct jurisdiction over its rulings. It ruled this month to kill the flat ban by some major networks

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and stations on paid editorial advertising. Judge J. Skelly Wright, critical of the "cloying blandness and commercialism" of broadcast advertising, said radio and television licensees must henceforth accept some spot ads on hot issues—although not necessarily all that are proffered. Broadcast media cannot be treated as just another private enterprise, Wright asserted, because "they function as both our foremost forum for public speech and our most important educator of an informed people . . . the only means of truly mass communication." The public is entitled to assert its First Amendment interests in the operations of broadcast outlets, he ruled, and to have an opportunity of access to them for a little self-edited speech. Anyway, the judge observed, who's to say what is "controversial" and thus taboo? What about advertisements for army recruiting and Radio Free Europe? "The line between ideological and nonideological presentations is an almost impossible one to draw. All too often in our society one particular ideology—that of passivity, acceptance of things as they are, and exaltation of commercial values—is simply taken for granted, assumed to be a nonideology, and allowed to choke out all the rest."

For some, including Judge Carl McGowan in a dissent, the specter was raised of the wealthy snatching up all the public-issue advertising time, of H. L. Hunt smothering us with right-wing intermezzos during the breaks in Bonanza. Wright suggested that problem could be solved, however, by simply applying the same fairness doctrine to advertising as to program time, limiting the amount of paid editorial time available on each station and giving some away if necessary to create a proper balance. He left the details to the FCC and the licensees.

Democrat Lindsay

Mayor John Lindsay's switch to the Democratic Party had been rumored so long its coming wasn't surprising. Nor was the reaction among politicians. The progressive wing of the Republican party sent its regrets; the White House refused to comment. GOP National Chairman Robert Dole, (R, Kans.) wasn't certain the switch was "bad news." Democrats generally welcomed him into their ranks. Former Sen. McCarthy struck the clearest note when he said Lindsay has "a better claim to the label Democrat than some people now wearing it." McGovern worried about a "midnight convert" stealing the prize he wants and Humphrey saw it as a kind of vindication of the Democratic party after three years of Nixon, Agnew and Mitchell.

What still isn't known is whether Lindsay the Democrat, eligible for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972, will appeal to a public rather bored with the current menu of Democratic presidential aspirants. Will he rouse rank and file Democrats? Lindsay would like to know the answer to that himself and apparently will spend a few months finding out before he commits himself to a bid for the presidency.

He'll have some handicaps. His record as mayor of New York may be hard to sell around the country. It may be the "second hardest job" in the world but failure to reverse the obvious decline of the Empire City is no recommendation for promotion to the "toughest job" in the world. On that score, Lindsay will have to be convincing.

Loophole

Before leaving for its August vacation, the Senate passed the long-awaited campaign spending reform bill. The vote, 88 to 2, inspired the National Committee for an Effective Congress to call it a "stunning reform victory . . . a vindication of three years of effort . . . a bi-partisan love feast." Almost no one noticed the short clause in an amendment written by Senator Marlow Cook (R, Ky.) which renders the most controversial section of the bill impotent.

Most senators thought they were approving a campaign spending limit which would hold expenses down to 5 cents per eligible voter for TV and radio, and 5 cents for other media. That would have permitted each party to spend no more than $13.9 million in the 1972 presidential campaign.

Cook's formula, however, raises this limit each year according to increases in the cost of living. The crucial phrase states that the cost-per-voter allowance must be "rounded to the next highest cent." An increase of only 2 percent in the cost of living would raise the figure to 5.1 cents, which rounds off to 6 cents. As long as the annual increase in the cost of living continues to rise by as much as 2 percent, the spending allowance would rise by a penny a year. (The cost of living index is currently climbing at the rate of 4 percent annually.) By the 1976 election, with an estimated 150 million eligible voters, each party could spend $30 million on its campaign. Twice as much as the bill's sponsors intended, this ceiling would not curb spending at all.

Senator Edward Kennedy (D, Mass.) was the only one to spot the loophole. When he asked the bill's floor manager Senator John Pastore (D, RI) about the rate increases, Pastore said he was in no position to answer "because I have not mathematically figured it out." But Senator Cook and the Republicans must have done their homework, and that may explain why the bill passed so easily. Reform lobbyists are now hoping a strong bill from the House will substitute a reasonable cost-of-living increase for the Cook clause.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Pension Gamble

How many employees know whether their company has a "money-purchase," a "deferred-graded" vesting or a "profit-sharing-investment" pension plan? How many care? Evidence collected by Senators Jacob Javits (D, NY) and Harrison Williams Jr. (D, NJ) shows that many workers, to their own disadvantage, have a naive faith in the private pension system worked out by organized labor and big business. At least the labor bosses, one imagines, would take time to explain company pension plans to rank and file members. But this isn't so. Many people discover that when it comes time to draw their pension, it doesn't exist. In a few cases, entire factory staffs have lost pension rights because of company bankruptcies.

In late July the Senate Labor subcommittee, chaired by Senator Williams, listened to testimony from men and women who have received less than fair treatment under the private pension system. The first witness – 51-year-old Steve Duane, a former A&P employee – said that after 32 years with the company he lost his job. When he applied for a pension, he found that he was entitled to nothing. At the same time, he said, other men who had been working only 14 years were eligible for benefits. His testimony was typical. Other witnesses told how they had worked 15, 20 or 30 years for a firm, then lost pension rights when employers closed down plants, relocated, or simply terminated their jobs without explanation. Many of them were too old to find new ones.

Michael Gordon, minority counsel on the Labor subcommittee, says that since the hearings in July, Senator Javits has received stacks of letters from A&P employees and other workers – all volunteering to tell how they lost their pensions. Javits has been receiving letters like these at the rate of 1500 a year since 1967, when he first proposed federal regulation of the pension system. Despite the volume of evidence supporting reform, Congress has not passed legislation for two reasons. First, disinherited pensioners have no clout on Capitol Hill. Industry is opposed to congressional interference, and labor has shown little interest in the proposed legislation. Second, most congressmen hesitate to impose restrictions on a purely voluntary operation like the private pension system. They fear that increased costs and legal complications will discourage companies from offering pensions to their employees in the future.

Yet, as Javits points out, there is approximately $130 billion now invested in private pension funds, "the largest aggregate of virtually unregulated money in the nation." The most important law covering pensions, the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act of 1958, was designed to prevent fund managers from using the money illegally. Ralph Nader's pension specialist calls this "a nothing." There is no law covering administration of payments to pension beneficiaries.

Most deficiencies in the present system are the result of carelessness and indifference, but a few aren't. Michael Gordon mentioned, for example, a Woolworth's plan which gives no credit for years worked before the age of 35, although the company hires at 18. It automatically eliminates up to 17 years of employee credit time. One man told Javits that he had worked 19½ years for a company and then was fired "for cause." He said, "I guess the cause was because at 20 years I would have been entitled to the pension plan." Many pensions operate like that one, on an all-or-nothing basis, giving full benefits to employees who stay the required number of years, and nothing to those who leave earlier. Most pensions are nonportable; that is, a man can't take credit for good years earned in one location and transfer them to his new job. Finally, private pension systems often lack adequate funding or insurance to provide benefits in case the company goes out of business. When the Studebaker plant in Indiana folded in 1964, men under 60 lost 85 percent of the value of the pension benefits they had earned.

Senator Javits introduced a bill this year (S 2) which would allow for portability of credits and set standards for the age at which a man earns a right to his pension. Under this system, an employee would be vested (granted an irrevocable claim) to 10 percent of his pension at six years of service. Each succeeding year he would earn another 10 percent until he reached "full vesting" at 15 years. If he decided to change jobs at any time, he could collect a check from his old employer and either deposit it in his new pension fund or invest it in a central pension bank. The bank account would operate like a federal bond, falling due when the depositor reached 65. Javits' bill also provides for federal insurance of pension plans to prevent recurrence of a Studebaker-type failure. It would set new standards for pension-fund management, and establish a federal commission to enforce them.

Ralph Nader has come up with an alternative plan which, if it could be made to work, would eliminate the need for most of the regulations in the Javits bill. Its simplicity is attractive – and Javits would say, deceptive. Adapted from a teacher's equity system, it would make every employee responsible for arranging his own retirement plan. The employer would be required to provide pension benefits in the form of tax-deductible payments to the employee's chosen fund. Because the employee would be able to choose the fund himself, and because he could transfer his investment at any time, Nader thinks the funds would compete to provide better benefits. Licensed and regulated by the SEC, the funds would pay cash only when the depositor reached retirement or became disabled.

This solution would do away with problems of sufficient funding, vesting age and portability. It would involve the depositors in corporate decisions, allowing them to vote each year on how the corporation should

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

invest its wealth. Nader says, "There is no reason why democracy can't be inflicted on pension-fund investment decisions."

Javits' staff has doubts about the Nader proposal, however. They question whether market investments would be able to provide benefits equal to those won by unions under the present "defined benefit" system, and they wonder who will protect the worker from unscrupulous brokers. Union bargainers like to see old-age benefits expressed in fixed cash terms, as they are under the present system. They would be opposed to a plan which asks the employee to make his own investment decisions and trust the market. The most significant question is whether this sort of pension reform will meet the approval of Congress. And on this point, Javits' solution is far more likely to succeed.

Nader's suggestion is still only an idea – no one has tried to work it into legislation. Right now, Javits' bill is the most comprehensive proposal in view. In the House, Representative John Dent (D, Pa.) has offered a bill which comes close to S 2, but is not as strong on vesting requirements or portability. There's a good chance that Congress will pass new fiduciary legislation this year to prevent illegal manipulation of pension funds by unions or other trustees. But there is not much enthusiasm for the other parts of Javits' bill.

The administration is divided on pension reform: the Treasury, Commerce and Labor Departments all have different opinions. No one has drawn up a White House position. Congress, though, could be goaded into acting on pension reform if organized labor decided to use its influence, but so far only the CIO half of the AFL-CIO has been actively pushing reform. Others, like the Teamsters and the United Mine Workers, are dead set against it. So is industry. The only steady support for Javits' effort has come from the old people who have already lost their chance to benefit from it. They keep sending letters.

Summer in the Parks

Watched in the Wild

For the past year and a half I've been living on an old dairy ranch about 50 miles north of San Francisco by country road. The ranch is within the boundaries of the Point Reyes National Seashore, a spectacular expanse of wooded hills, golden meadows and lonely beaches. The other day I received word that I am soon to be a victim of eminent domain: the National Park Service wants to use my ranch as an outpost for a deputy sheriff. The sheriff's job will be to deal with what the Park Service says is a soaring crime rate at the Seashore – 800 citations and arrests in 1970, compared with 250 the year before.

Crime is a matter of definition, and statistics leave a lot unsaid. Of the 800 offenses tallied last year at Point Reyes, about one-third were for drug use, primarily marijuana; another third were for camping in undesignated areas; the rest were for such miscellaneous transgressions as petty theft, unleashing one's dog or removing one's clothes on a beach. The dramatic increase over the previous year, I suspect, is as much the result of stricter law enforcement as of a sudden burst of lawlessness. Yet the actual crime rate is rising, if for no other reason than that more people are using the Seashore and more young people around San Francisco are smoking marijuana.

Other national parks, especially those within easy driving distance of metropolitan areas, are experiencing similar crime patterns. Yosemite, Lake Mead, Cape Cod, Cape Hatteras, Yellowstone, Grand Teton and Sequoia, as well as Point Reyes, reported sharp rises last year in the number of drug offenses. Also rising are the tensions between two types of park visitors – young hippies and older family groups – whose conflicting life styles are forced into close proximity every night at crowded campgrounds. These tensions led to clashes last year between Rangers and hippies, the most notable of which occurred in Yosemite Valley, when Rangers tried to enforce a 7 P.M. curfew on a crowd of young people gathered in a meadow.

Though traditional crimes of violence remain conspicuously rare in the national parks – only two murders and eight rapes were reported in all of the parks in 1970, a rather good record considering that 173 million persons came to visit – the Park Service has reacted to the hippie influx and the upsurge of minor crime, by increasing the personnel assigned to law enforcement. In some parks, such as Point Reyes, where the federal government shares jurisdiction with the state and county, local police agencies have been brought in. At Yosemite, the Park Service has hired every summer since 1969 at least two young undercover agents, usually criminology students at Fresno State or San Jose State, who dress as hippies and whose special responsibility is to look for drug violators. For holiday weekends and other emergencies, the Park Service's own police force, which works mostly in the Washington, DC area, has trained a new, highly mobile 40-man unit, somewhat akin to the Marines, that can fly to any trouble spot in the country within hours.

The primary burden of stepped-up enforcement falls upon the Park Rangers, whose well-known uniform, alas, has come to symbolize not only the helpful naturalist, but the punitive power of the state. Rangers in many parks now carry handcuffs, .38 caliber revolvers and spray cans of MACE. By the end of 1973, all will have undergone a four-month training

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Secretary John Connally, Mr. Nixon's temporarily captive Democrat from Texas, tried at the President's request and failed to persuade Davis to concede enough to make the local plan acceptable to HEW and Justice. The resultant suspicion was voiced to me at the White House and was imparted to the President. It was that Judge Roberts and his friend Davis were in cahoots all along to produce a local plan and a lower court decision that the administration would be compelled to reject and appeal despite the predictable and, in the event, adverse political effects.

Other factors entered. One of them was a sudden eruption of anti-busing sentiment and apprehension in Congress, climaxed with a House vote in favor of a restrictive and politically menacing amendment to the President's Emergency School Assistance Act. Another disturbing element was reported in detail to Secretary Richardson by his civil rights director, Stanley Pottinger, in a memorandum summary of the circumstances that led to and complicated the Austin problem. Its thrust was that a growing number of black community leaders and of the attorneys who represent the black interest in desegregation cases were losing their old passion for the degree and kinds of desegregation presumed to be required by the Supreme Court and hitherto sought by HEW and Justice. If this were true, it raised the horrifying possibility that Mr. Nixon had let himself be shoved out ahead not only of his white constituency in the South and elsewhere but of the sentiment in portions of the black community. The evidence adduced was thin, but it was enough to shake the confidence of Richardson and Attorney General Mitchell in the soundness of their previous positions and advice to Mr. Nixon.

Thus it was that Secretary Richardson accepted in silence and loyalty, though with private sorrow, the harsh language in which the President said he would have the Justice Department "disavow" the Austin plan. Mitchell used much milder language in his own announcement and otherwise remained totally uncommunicative. He had reason to be reticent: he no less than Elliot Richardson was "repudiated," as the press put it, by the President's statement, for he had reviewed and cleared the disavowed Austin plan. As for the President's resort to the deceptive semantics of anti-busing, nothing remains to be said except that he had a purpose in it apart from his obvious desire to minimize the political penalties of the court appeal. He was saying once more to every subordinate concerned with the issue, including Cabinet members and his own assistants, that he damn well expected his limited concept of desegregation and attendant busing to prevail and would tolerate no deviations from it. He wanted no official action that would expose the falsity of his pretense to be simultaneously "against busing" and for desegregation.

John Osborne

Violating Law and the Language in Laos

Airs Above the Ground

by Harlan H. Vinnedge

There was once a time when the phrase, "airs above the ground," referred to the feats performed by horses of the Spanish Riding School. By the joint actions of the Congress and the Department of Defense, it now applies equally well to the 1971 spring maneuvers of the 101st Airborne Division in Laos.

Last April 26 while the antiwar demonstrators conducted mock "search and destroy" missions around Capitol Hill, the House Armed Services Committee heard a firsthand account of these maneuvers. The witness, a Colonel Molinelli, had commanded the 2nd Squadron, 17th Cavalry in the Laotian operation. Mr. Blandford, the chief counsel, began the questioning.

Mr. Blandford: Did your squadron go into Laos?

Colonel Molinelli: Yes, sir; we crossed into Laos the initial day of the operation, on approximately a 40-kilometer front.

Mr. Blandford established the squadron's sortie rate and then inquired about the kill rate. Colonel Molinelli replied, "Sir, I believe they were extremely successful. We always maintained a high kill rate in personnel. I have no figures for materiel." His estimate agreed with that given by General Westmoreland in a colloquy with Rep. Lennon (D, NC) before the same committee. Representative Lennon had commented that the American people were getting an erroneous

MR. VINNEDGE *is a frequent contributor to this journal.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

impression of the combat capability of the South Vietnamese and went on to say, "But they are not getting the story of what is really happening, which is the B-52s and the combination of gun-ships and our air participation." General Westmoreland answered, "Your assumption is quite correct. It is American air power and artillery that is killing the majority of the enemy." Further questioning determined that the squadron's helicopter complement consisted of OH-6-As, Cobras and Hueys and that the squadron was not used for South Vietnamese troop lift.

The nature of Colonel Molinelli's testimony makes it important to consider what constitutes "ground combat forces." This phrase appears in section 843 of the 1971 Department of Defense Appropriation Act: "In line with the expressed intention of the President of the United States, none of the funds appropriated by this Act shall be used to finance the introduction of American ground combat forces into Laos or Thailand." The question can be approached from two viewpoints, that of the army and that of the Congress. The army's view is well defined in testimony before the two Armed Services Committees, and the congressional view can be found by examining the legislative history of the section.

On March 3, 1970, General Westmoreland, testifying before the Senate Armed Forces Committee in support of the FY 1971 military procurement authorization bill, said, in reply to a question about close air support of army ground forces, ". . . However, as you well know, in Vietnam the armed helicopter came of age. It has allowed the army to operate in a third dimension along with our troop carrying helicopters." A year later, while appearing before the House committee in support of the FY 1972 bill, he said, in response to a similar question, "Well, as a matter of semantics, we call it direct aerial fire. In other words, we put our infantry antitank guns in the air. We put our machine guns in the air. This permits the army to maneuver in the third dimension. . . . It is not competitive with the tactical air support that the air force provides. We need that tactical air support." This second testimony is particularly instructive as it confirms the spatial concept of the army and also draws a clear distinction between tactical air support missions and those performed by army helicopters.

Secretary Laird and General Westmoreland, in their statements before the House Armed Services Committee, gave further insights into the army's views. Secretary Laird defined the active military forces as being strategic or general purpose; within the latter, there are land, tactical air, naval, and airlift and sealift forces. General Westmoreland, in giving the worldwide distribution of the army combat divisions forming most of the general purpose land forces, placed four of them in Vietnam, one of which is the 101st airborne. It is also apparent from Secretary Laird's posture statement that, in the army's view, helicopters are ground combat equipment. They are shown as line items in that category in the supporting documentation, and he discussed the procurement of helicopters of the types commanded by Colonel Molinelli in conjunction with the procurement of XM803 and M60 tanks under the heading of ground combat capability.

The context in which to consider the legislative history of section 843 is, then, (a) the army regards itself as operating in three dimensions rather than strictly as a ground force, (b) the 101st airborne is a combat division, and (c) the helicopters operated by the 101st airborne are ground combat equipment.

When the defense appropriation bill was originally introduced, the language of section 843 was identical with that ultimately passed by the Congress. The House accepted it as written, but, when the Senate took up the measure, section 843 came up immediately. Senator Ellender (D, La.), who was managing the bill, announced that the Appropriations Committee recommended amending the section to include Cambodia since the Senate had already taken that position during the passage of the foreign military sales act. In later floor debate, Senator Ellender agreed with Senator Fulbright (D, Ark.) that this section prohibited the sending of ground troops into Laos, Thailand and Cambodia. The Senate passed the bill with Senator Ellender's amendment. The conference committee report added considerable new language to this section. The House managers accepted the addition of Cambodia but insisted on inserting further language giving the President leeway to act in promoting the withdrawal or disengagement of American forces or to aid in the release of POWs. The House agreed to these changes, but Senator Ellender moved to table the report since the qualifying language was not acceptable to a number of senators. In the second conference, the language added by the Senate, extending section 843 to Cambodia, and by the House, setting conditions under which ground troops could be introduced into the three countries, was removed. Since the House never specifically voted on section 843 with its modifying clauses and the Senate refused even to consider it in that form, the apparent intent of Congress is that no ground combat troops are to be introduced into Laos or Thailand for any reason.

An exchange between Secretary of the Army Resor and Senator Symington (D, Mo.) that took place at a March 3, 1970 meeting of the Senate Armed Forces Committee offers further support for this interpretation. Senator Symington was exploring the conditions under which there might be South Vietnamese ground operations in Cambodia, Laos and North Vietnam. He finally asked, "So the answer to my question is that they will not be allowed, as long as we finance the war, to invade with ground troops any of the three countries that are now sanctuaries?"

Secretary Resor: I would think that would be true so

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

long as the enemy does not do significantly more than he is doing today. I think it would not be necessary.

Senator Symington: I know, but they did significantly more in the past, and we still did not allow our army or marines to invade any of these countries. Do the same rules apply now?

Secretary Resor: Yes. I would not foresee a significant change in the rules of engagement.

Recognition that the Laotian incursion was not in accord with the intent of Congress seems to offer an explanation for the news embargo that originally covered the operation. If one examines Colonel Molinelli's testimony, the justification that the embargo was necessary to provide security does not hold up. He testified that it was clear from the first day that the enemy not only knew they were coming but also knew where they were going once they got into Laos.

Even though the Laotian incursion now seems a part of the ancient history of the Indochina activities, there is a point in reviewing the efforts Congress made to prevent such actions. The defense authorization and appropriations bills are again slowly moving through the Congress. It is important that they be closely examined. There will undoubtedly be much attention given to Safeguard, the F-14 and the CVAN-70 – the House has already done so in passing the authorization bill, but a little effort ought to be saved for concepts such as the TRICAP division. This will be an experimental unit bringing together the triple capabilities of air cavalry, airmobile infantry and armor in a single division. In discussing the division in his written statement, General Westmoreland wrote, "Airmobility came of age in Vietnam. It has changed the nature of ground warfare." Perhaps this year, section 843 will also come of age with language that matches the army's tactical and semantic developments.

How Government and Industry Keep Secrets from the People

Mum's the Word

by James Ridgeway

Because of the "energy crisis" there is now a great interest in government, Congress and among conservation and consumer groups in the interconnections of the oil, gas, uranium and coal companies; how they set prices, what fuels they use, where they get the fuels from and how much they have on hand and in reserve. In all parts of the country local citizens' groups are attempting to halt or change utility plans for expansion. In order to make any impression in court, state legislatures or in the press, they need current technical information. But it is difficult to find out much about utilities. Annual reports are filed a year after rate increases go into effect, and are often out of date. Senator Lee Metcalf (D, Mont.), who wants more information on electric utilities made public, points out, "Utility corporations frequently file their rate increase requests before they file their annual reports to regulatory commissions. About a year after the commissions file their annual reports, the Federal Power Commission and the Federal Communications Commission publish their annual comparison of utility statistics. These publications usually are not available until well after the utilities have gotten the courts to nail down the rate increase upon the basis of one-sided information which has not been properly challenged, because neither regulators nor protestants had the information and staff resources for the adversary presentation which is supposed to characterize our regulatory and judicial system."

Interested parties face further difficulties because the regulatory commissions usually will not provide free copies of the utility annual reports and other submissions. The Interstate Commerce Commission, for example, has required some persons to pay a private reporting firm more than $1 a page to obtain such documents. Arizona regards annual reports of utilities as "confidential" information.

The Federal Power Commission now publishes a weekly news digest of articles appearing in the general and industry press on various aspects of the energy industry; they include detailed accounts of proposed electric utility expansion plans and rate hikes. It is an inexpensive service, requiring little work by the Commission staff, and within range of the public ($6 a year). But as part of Nixon's economy move, this

JAMES RIDGEWAY, *a former associate editor of* The New Republic, *is the author of* The Politics of Ecology.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

publication will be discontinued in October.

This leaves the industry magazines as a main source of fast information on utility operations. Sandwiched between the business chit chat, these papers carry statistical tables, showing revenues, net income, percentage of return, tax payments, amounts spent for advertising and promotion. They discuss the industry's plans for fighting off conservationists. The principal magazine in the field is *Electrical World*, published by McGraw-Hill. But *Electrical World* is not sold on newsstands, and McGraw-Hill won't sell subscriptions to the general public. A reporter for a publication which reports on science for high school teachers wrote in, asking for a subscription. He received a form letter which said, "Recently you sent us your remittance with a request for a subscription to *Electrical World*. Although we appreciate your interest we feel that you should more than likely be disappointed with a subscription . . . . Based on the information available to us, it is our feeling that the editorial and advertising content of our publication would not provide direct value to you."

A. L. DeWeerdt, the magazine's circulation manager, recently explained the policy: "These publications (McGraw-Hill's business magazines) are all specialized. Editorially they serve their respective fields, and also advertisers using these publications only want to reach those respective fields. To dilute the circulation outside that respective field of each publication would be a detriment to the advertisers."

Another important document for those attempting to understand the utility business is the Nominee List. While the federal government requires that various corporations reveal their principal owners, these owners are often masked in reports by code names such as Cadco, Twoco or Floco. A banker or broker can quickly look up these code, or "street" names, in his most recent copy of the Nominee List, published by the American Society of Corporate Secretaries. Floco, for instance, is one of several names used by Prudential Insurance Co. of America. But it has not been easy for the general public to get copies of the Nominee List, because the Society has "restricted" the circulation to its members. Society officials suggest that those interested in obtaining the list try to persuade a local bank or brokerage house to procure one. The cost is $20. Fortunately, that won't be necessary, because Senator Metcalf got hold of a copy and inserted the whole thing in the Congressional Record. It is listed as No. 98-Part II, June 24, 1971, and can be obtained free of charge.

The difficulty in obtaining basic information about the energy industry is not limited to industry but is encountered within government where federal officials keep industry's secrets safe from the public. For example, it is hard to know whether the Interior Department's program for leasing tracts of outer-continental shelf is economically beneficial, safe or otherwise valuable, because the underlying information on which the department bases its decision, including the prices charged, is held in secret. This is information supplied the Interior Department by oil companies, and it is regarded as privileged. While Stewart Udall was Secretary of Interior, there was an effort to persuade the US Geological Survey, the agency directly in charge of leasing, to make its own independent estimates of resources on the outercontinental shelf, but top officials in the Survey were against the idea and it was dropped.

Now various government agencies and congressional committees are attempting to determine the extent of natural gas reserves in the US. The gas industry, which is by and large the same as the oil industry, claims that gas reserves are running dangerously short, and that to ensure an adequate supply, producers should be paid a higher price in order to stimulate them to a more vigorous exploration program. Industry critics insist this is a ruse, and that the gas men deliberately sealed off existing gas wells so as to artifically shorten supply and thereby drive up prices. We don't know what the actual gas reserves are. For years both the Federal Power Commission, which regulates gas prices at the well-head, and the Interior Department, have relied entirely on basic information supplied them by the companies through the American Gas Association, the trade group. The gas association maintains subcommittees of its members, which put together statistics on gas reserves. These statistics are then accepted by Interior and FPC as basic guides on which policy is formulated. Queries about the base data are turned away on the grounds the information is privileged.

Recently the American Public Gas Association, which represents municipal gas companies, sought to persuade the Interior Department to provide it with essential information on gas reserves on public lands, which are administered by the Interior Department and have nothing to do with industry. At first the Interior Department refused, but after Congressional pressure it agreed to show the APGA total figures on reserves. It declined, however, to provide the back-up papers with data on which the reserve figures were based.

The practice of government protecting the public from important information is not limited to the energy field; there are stray examples in other areas: The FAA requires each airline to report accidents or mechancial defects every day. These reports, called MRRs (Maintenance Reliability Reports) go to members of the industry. When investigators for Ralph Nader's Center for the Study of Responsive Law asked for copies, the FAA referred them to the Air Transport Association, the airline industry trade group. The association refused to release the records; the Nader group is planning a suit to get them.

The Social Security Administration, citing the Free-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dom of Information Act, refuses to make public its internal reports on Medicare operations. Under the Medicare act, Blue Cross is named as a "fiscal intermediary"; that is, in most places Blue Cross runs the Medicare program under general supervision of Social Security. During the last few years Medicare costs have risen dramatically. Charges were increased and benefits curtailed. Criticism grew within and without Congress. There were accusations, for example, that Blue Cross was helping local hospitals increase their bills by including such items as maternity care. But the Social Security Administration, the source of some of these reports, will not make them public. The Senate Finance Committee and House Ways and Means Committee, the committees concerned with overseeing administration of the act, routinely receive these reports. They refuse to make them public.

Federal bureaucrats are ingenious in devising methods to keep the simplest, most basic information to themselves. The Health Law Center at the University of Pennsylvania wants to obtain a copy of the HEW claims manual, which includes a section on tolerance rules. The tolerance rules are a guide to federal officials, telling them how lenient they can be in deciding claims. For example, should an elderly person who can't remember his birth date and can't find it because of lack of records, receive Medicare benefits? The tolerance rules would indicate under what circumstances such a claim could be accepted or rejected. Until recently there were two sections of the HEW claims manual. One was public and available to anyone. The other was official, and held in confidence. It included the tolerance rules. After the Health Law Center began making its inquiries, the claims manual was rearranged. Now the entire claims manual is a public document. But the tolerance rules have been extracted from it, and made confidential.

The Freedom of Information Act may hold out some hope of changing this situation, affording a method for opening up records. Harrison Wellford, of the Center for the Study of Responsive Law, won an important suit under the act not long ago. He sought and eventually gained access to certain investigatory records at the Agriculture Department. Still, prospects for opening up more information under the act are regarded as dim. The presumption of the act is that there is complete disclosure, but it goes on to list so many exemptions as to make it nearly meaningless. The act exempts, for instance, interagency or intraagency memoranda or letters, trade secrets and commercial and financial information. The act apparently protects preexisting exemptions. Thus it continues the section of the preexisting Social Security Act which says that there is to be no disclosure except for such matters as the Secretary (HEW) may prescribe.

In short there are so many exemptions in this law that it has become a sort of domestic secrets act, widening the liaison between government and industry, protecting the public from information it ought to have.

Redistributing Power on Capitol Hill

Making Congress Work

by Ralph Nader

Congress, the anthropologists would say, is a severely acculturating institution. With rigid procedures, seniority rules, pervasive committee secrecy and a system of petty rewards and giant punishments, the federal legislature faithfully reflects the power alignments in the society. Power goes to those senior legislators who service powerful interests, while isolation goes to those who merely represent powerless people. The pattern of behavior for members of what should be democracy's great advocate has been smoothed over generations into a routine form of debilitating etiquette called "getting along by going along."

Given a system which divided internal power by centralizing it in the hands of committee and subcommittee chairmen with great authority, two consequences continually mark the pace. First, a trade-off relationship becomes automatic: "you scratch my satrap and I'll scratch yours." Second, the problems of control by the lobby-industries are spectacularly simplified. For example, the banks run the Senate Banking Committee; agribusiness the two Agriculture Committees; the defense establishment the Armed Services Committees. Where the chairman is resistant, as in the case of Wright Patman of the House Banking and Cur-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rency Committee, the banks most often get their way by their close business and campaign fund relationship with a majority of the committee's members. In most cases, the control of the chairman is close to absolute if the constituent lobby has reached a working majority of the committee. Senator Philip Hart, who heads the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, has been permitted, for instance, to hold many hearings but no bills get the approval of the subcommittee, not to mention the parent Judiciary Committee run by James Eastland. No bills, that is, except ones which weaken antitrust laws.

Pressures for channeling, trading off and conforming have worn down independent and courageous legislators or limited them to no greater impact than that of a tolerated but circumscribed house maverick.

But in recent years, there has been a change in the determination of some members to develop more diverse initiatives than can be brought about through the traditional committee mechanisms. This trend is quite apart from the agonizing drive to reform congressional procedures by a growing number of legislators. Rather it is characterized by the development of broader dimensions to the individual congressman's or senator's office. Let me cite some examples.

1. Creative uses of complaints flowing into congressional offices can have many ramifications. Between 1965 and 1968 Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D, Wis.) probed and exposed the tire industry's lack of safety practices and used a combination of detailed complaints and court documents on inadequate tire quality control to good effect in the passage of tire safety legislation and oversight of the National Highway Safety Bureau. Yet he was not a member of the Senate Commerce Committee which had jurisdiction over the bill, or bureau.

2. The public letter of inquiry from a member of Congress is a little used tool to obtain information not voluntarily disclosed by corporations and trade associations as well as government agencies. Sen. Walter Mondale (D, Minn.) obtained, in this way, highly useful data from the auto companies in 1968 on the number of defective cars actually brought back and corrected pursuant to auto company recall campaigns. So spurred, the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, which should have required this information all along, issued regulations to make the companies routinely report these facts. Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal's (D, NY) letters of inquiry have led to the disclosure of information ranging from the description of industry complaint handling systems to the resale to poorer consumers of foodstuffs and other products by companies whose original deliveries were rejected by government procurement officials as deficient or spoiled. Rep. Ken Hechler (D, W.Va.) has been a one-man congressional monitor and spotlighter of the Bureau of Mines' laggard enforcement of the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969. His office is an active center of intelligence about violations of the law and the swirling politics inside the bureau. The bureau, consequently, is more concerned with him than with the entirely too casual review of the formal, congressional oversight committees.

3. The congressman as litigator, moving from one branch of government to another to spur enforcement of laws or development of fairer procedures in the regulatory and service agencies, can help redress the executive-legislative imbalance of power that turns laws into nonlaws. Rep. John Moss (D, Calif.) and 31 other congressmen filed suit in late 1969 at the US Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia against the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB), alleging that the agency violated procedural and substantive requirements of the Federal Aviation Act when it granted a large nationwide airfare increase to the airlines. The court upheld the congressmen with a searing critique of the CAB and an order to obey the law. The case prompted the CAB to initiate a broad fare investigation with hearings, even before the decision was rendered. Although the agency is trying to limit the effects of the court's decision in its subsequent proceedings, it is under increasing pressure to reform its procedures to provide greater due process for the participating public. In addition, the message that a new reach by members of Congress was emerging certainly was not lost on other departments of the federal government.

Even where a court refuses to accept the congressman's standing to sue in a particular case, as occurred last year in a suit by Rep. Philip Burton (D, Calif.) and three other colleagues against the US Bureau of Mines for not enforcing the coal mine safety law, the impact was not lost on the bureau nor on the coal operators. This suit encouraged the coal miners struggling for safer working conditions and highlighted the ineffectiveness of the oversight committees. There is an opportunity for new judicial doctrine to be made, as more such cases are brought. This approach is in its infancy but has great potential. Since some more young Washington lawyers are willing to take such cases on a *pro bono* basis, the use by legislators of the courts may increasingly compel the agencies to mind their statutory mandates.

4. The unspoken taboo against congressmen making direct appeals to constituents of their colleagues on controversial issues is weakening. In over 150 congressional districts, blacks represent about 25 percent of the potential vote – a fact of increasing interest to legislators sensitive to injustices affecting minority groups. Last year, Rep. Charles C. Diggs (D, Mich.) went to South Carolina to campaign among black voters against Rep. John McMillan, chairman of the House District Committee and veritable ruler of the District of Columbia. If done thoughtfully and selectively, these campaigns can avoid much of the xeno-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

phobia which incumbent legislators try to whip up among their constituencies. It is one of the most degrading ironies of American political life that the most reactionary, special interest-indentured members of Congress often come from the poorest districts in the country. If Senators and Representatives represent their country – read all Americans – as well as their states or districts, their oath of office certainly permits, if not encourages, campaign appeals that cut across district and state lines. Consider how salutary such campaigning would be in areas with many Chicanos, American Indians and poor whites. If, for example, Rep. Jamie Whitten exercises his enormous new powers over appropriations for environmental and consumer programs in a manner contrary to the objectives of these programs, then it should be the perceived duty of the legislative advocates of these programs to appeal directly to the citizens of northwestern Mississippi who vote Mr. Whitten into office.

5. Hurdling intransigent committees which refuse to address themselves to problems of large significance under their jurisdiction, or delay interminably, is on the increase. In 1967-1968 Rep. Joseph Reznick exposed abuses by the American Farm Bureau and its business interests in ad hoc hearings he convened as a lone Congressman and which he took to the midwest. In November of 1969, Rep. Leonard Farbstein and several New York Congressmen staged ad hoc hearings in New York City on air pollution, giving special emphasis to auto pollution.

Last year Rep. David Pryor held his own public hearings on nursing homes as part of a move to set up a special committee on aging. Although 250 members of the House have gone on record in support of his resolution to create such a committee, veteran members of the Rules Committee have blocked it. So this June, Pryor obtained two house trailers, parked them at a South Capitol street gas station very near Congress, and announced the formation of a House Trailer Committee on Aging staffed by 15 volunteer researchers on problems of nursing homes, housing, medical care, transportation and consumer fraud. This "committee-in-exile," as Pryor calls it, was created by a relatively conservative Arkansas Democrat.

A more formal circumvention of traditional procedures is Sen. George McGovern's Special Committee on Nutrition and Health, which has held field-hearings all over the country as well as in Washington on hunger and food quality – items that the Senate Committee on Agriculture has chosen to ignore.

Ron Dellums, the new Democratic congressman from Berkeley, wasted no time in setting up his own ad hoc, well-publicized hearings on the Vietnam war.

6. Building independent bases of power for representatives and senators *outside* Congress, which work *on* Congress to achieve needed change is the next logical step in democratizing that institution. A major undertaking by the Black Caucus may well signal the beginning of one of the most significant transformations within the congressional entrenchment since the founding of the national legislature. For example, the Caucus plans to have its own professional staff, funded by public appeals, which would range beyond immediate congressional concerns, probing the executive branch and the private sector with the aim of diminishing through legislative, regulatory or judicial power injustices to blacks. The Caucus has raised $200,000 to hire staff – lawyers, economists, scientists – who in turn will invite student teams during the summer to investigate government agencies or conduct needed studies.

Whether the Black Caucus' project works out or not, the principle it symbolizes is applicable elsewhere in Congress. There is no reason why senators and representatives, singly or in groups, cannot begin building new sources of legislative power, bringing the legislature closer to the people and many of the people, striving to be of assistance, closer to Congress. This popularization of Congress would develop a foundation to escape (1) from the micro-tyrannies of venerable Committee chairmen, (2) from the grip of campaign contributors, (3) from conformity to expedient quid pro quos and debilitating party allegiances, and, most important, (4) from the inability to launch a genuine reform of Congress toward making it the peoples' voice and an expert lever for democratic evolution. This will take more than an idea, more than a staff. It will take determination, skill and compassion.

For years, the decline of congressional authority vis-a-vis the executive branch has troubled observers. Its information-gathering powers are obsolete and trivial compared to the 4000 computer systems working on policy issues in the executive branch, and the even greater capability of industrial and commercial organizations which lobby the Congress. Its secrecy is used against its own noncommittee members as well as against the electorate. It is rife with conflict of interest, unjust procedures, compromising ties with lobbies, rewards for years of service instead of quality of service. Yet it is the only Congress we have; it has immense authority and it distributes over $220 billion a year. It can't be ignored. It can be improved and made more responsive to people's needs. Again and again, dedicated members have chosen not to run for reelection out of despair, or have jumped into impossible senatorial races. Others have refused to play by the odious rules of the campaign game and, with no other base of power and support, have scuttled their reelection chances. But there are other choices to make and roles to play. Congressmen and senators can become centers of movements that reach beyond Capitol Hill to other sources of persuasion and change so that they can be greatly strengthened in their use of the powers of the Congress.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on films

Carnal Knowledge

(Avco Embassy)

The Touch

(Cinerama)

Jules Feiffer has half-done it again. His screenplay for *Carnal Knowledge* is acid satire, and it's written without superiority – almost with a confessional air: Gulliver as Yahoo, not as tourist. It's familiar Feiffer country, the American wars and truces of the sexes, man the vaginal raider, woman the castrator. And underneath it, of course, is American puritanism plus the latter-day conscious reaction against it, both of them producing a piratical view of sex. The theme is hardly original, but Feiffer has been working with it for years and now takes it further, if not deeper.

Predictably, the script is witty, though less witty than some of his other writing; and there are banal patches that don't sound like satire. He tells the story of two friends, Jon and Sandy, from their college days just after World War II to the present, in terms of their sex lives. As a casebook of the American male "dating and scoring" mind, acquired in adolescence and inflicting psychic curses throughout life, it's clinically sharp.

But one of my feelings while watching it was, "I know all this." There's some pleasure in mere recognition, especially because – until recently – American films rendered American sex life about as realistically as the ballet does (and usually less imaginatively). But Feiffer only observes, he doesn't perceive. The characters are like his drawings, adroitly and economically sketched but two-dimensional – with two-dimensionality as their apparent reason for being.

Carnal Knowledge is not a drama or even a narrative in any generative sense, it's a chronological series of depositions. Even this might have a certain cumulative interest except that, once we know the premises, we can easily work out the rest for ourselves. There are absolutely no surprises – I don't mean plot twists, I mean enrichments or contradictions. Feiffer shows small sense of the paradoxes that lie beneath a seemingly consistent behavior pattern.

All the characters are stock. A handsome sexy hero. A less attractive pal whom the hero coaches on how to get a girl. (The hero gets her easily, of course, then later turns her back to the unwitting pal.) The nice girl who can't resist the hero but marries the pal. The vacuous but good-hearted showgirl.

All four get their tags when they appear, then just go on displaying them. When Jon starts an affair with the show-girl (out of TV), there isn't any doubt about every strophe that will follow. To sledge-hammer matters, there's a slide-photo reprise by Jon near the end, which adds zero. Through much of the film I sensed a slight invisible nodding in myself – not of drowsiness but agreement. And agreement is an insufficient reaction to purportedly serious work.

The chief reason the film is never dull is that it was directed by Mike Nichols. He has made a good recovery after *Catch-22*, or to put it properly, he's again working with material whose tone and texture he can control. First, I note – as I've done often before – his ability to direct actors, which operates here against some rather odd casting. Jack Nicholson plays a man named Jonathan Fuerst from Evander Childs High School in the Bronx. Jonathan was evidently conceived as New York Jewish, and Nicholson neither looks nor sounds it; but Nichols has guided him to a performance so violently-defiantly wretched that the inappropriateness is muted, if never quite lost. Arthur Garfunkel, the Sandy, is not an actor at all. Nichols evidently thought his personality (which is apt enough) was worth the risk, and he has helped Garfunkel at least to behave credibly. I'd be perfectly willing never to see Garfunkel again, but Nichols makes him acceptable here.

There's been a great deal of gab about the miracles Nichols has wrought with Ann-Margret. I've never thought she was all that terrible – she's just had terrible parts. Here she has a showy, sure-fire part, and Nichols easily whips her up into various frenzies, just as he did with Elizabeth Taylor. His much more subtle success is with Candice Bergen in a quiet role. To my knowledge, Bergen has never before spoken a believable word. Nichols has rid her of her strain to *sound* credible, has told her something about thought process so that she knows what to do with her eyes (for a change), and has in short sheared off her wooliness. Not exactly a memorable performance but not a phony one. I haven't seen much mention of this.

And I'm getting another considerable pain in the neck, to be frank but ana-

(continued on page 35)

Films Worth Seeing

Claire's Knee. Eric Rohmer's chamber-music film about muted and less muted desire, told in a rather cool but quietly delightful way. Lovely color – and a lovely 16-year-old named Beatrice Romand.

The Clowns. A memoir by Federico Fellini of his love for a disappearing art. Sentimental but endearing. Interviews with old clowns, recreations of old acts, and Fellini himself. If you know children who won't mind Italian dialogue with subtitles, it's certainly for them, too.

Little Big Man. Dustin Hoffman in the Old West, as both a white man and an Indian, which enables him to live to 121! The antiwhite moralizing in Arthur Penn's direction is a bit heavy, but there's some picaresque sweep.

My Night at Maud's. Another of Eric Rohmer's "moral tales," this one more explicitly Catholic, dealing with the sex-love dilemmas of a modern intelligent French Catholic. Jean-Louis Trintignant (good) is the man who spends the (chaste) night at Maud's, who is Françoise Fabian (gorgeous).

Walkabout. Except for a gruesome suicide near the start (and a more touching one near the end), a perfect picture for children. A prettily photographed story of two Australian youngsters – an adolescent girl and younger brother – who get lost in the desert and are befriended by an enchanting teenage aborigine. Parents of small children will probably want to investigate it first, but it's worth the trouble.

SK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Debacles Are Big Business

From the Jaws of Victory by Charles Fair

(Simon and Schuster; $8.95)

> "Good-morning; good-morning!" the General said
> When we met him last week on our way to the line.
> Now the soldiers he smiled at are most of 'em dead,
> And we're cursing his staff for incompetent swine.
> "He's a cheery old card," grunted Harry to Jack
> As they slogged up to Arras with rifle and pack.
> . . . . But he did for them both by his plan of attack.*

It is fitting to remember Siegfried Sassoon's bitter epigram while reading Charles Fair's survey of bad generalship through the ages, from Crassus the Roman to William Westmoreland. With quite remarkable repetitions, these old cards – cheery or otherwise – have flung armies or even nations to bloody disaster. Mr. Fair's purpose is to remind us that while the results may have had a good deal of dismal similarity, the reasons why were usually complex. Relatively few commanders have been gifted with the pure, untarnished stupidity of Major-General, The Earl of Cardigan; most losing generals were men of some competence who eventually met a battlefield moment of truth when they were tested on their worst failing. It is these failings – of character, imagination, or social conditioning – that Mr. Fair tries to isolate from the turmoil of circumstance and analyze as the primal reasons for military catastrophe.

This might seem to be an antithesis of Tolstoy's theory, so ponderously reiterated throughout *War and Peace*, but in fact it is not. Though there is such a thing as eccentricity of leadership good or bad, Fair says, the more important reality is that generals usually symbolize the culture or nation that produces them. "The defects of character and intellect of a whole people" are bred into them. In short, we get the commanders we deserve: A brave and resourceful Athens produces Miltiades; a smug and stolid England throws up Sir Douglas Haig. A technology-obsessed America brings forth generals who can devastate Vietnam by machine but who can't win a war.

I am not convinced. Such a theory may appeal to our sense of poetic justice, but in the long run it turns out to be one of those pat constructions that history often takes malevolent delight in exploding. Just for (inadequate) example – the impoverished and factious Byzantine Empire under the bad commander-in-chief Justinian still produced two superb generals in Belisarius and (paradox on paradox) the eunuch Narses, who swept Italy of Frankish and Gothic armies at the age of 73. And, to cite one of Mr. Fair's own instances, McClellan and Burnside were busy losing battles in the east in 1862 while Grant was winning sound victories in the west. Which one of them represented the mind and soul of the Union?

But, to be just to Mr. Fair, he is seldom dogmatic and he is shrewd enough to forget his own theory when it suits him. Aldous Huxley once noted that the Encyclopedia Britannica lists three forms of intelligence: human, animal and military. The third, while bearing some distant relationship to the others, still exists in a somewhat idiosyncratic realm of its own. It is supposed to deal with a situation that – Clausewitz to the contrary – is *not* truly an extension of the normal relationships of life or peacetime values. Thus it is extremely rare to find a society in which there is any great symbiosis between the military establishment and the broad, general culture. Frequently there is a bloodrelationship between the military and one civilian class – the aristocracy in the past and the industrialists in America today – but it is likely to go little further. Could the computer that had absorbed every political fact about turn-of-the-18th-century England have predicted Wellington? "The scum of the earth, enlisted for drink," is the way he is supposed to have described the troops who fought and died for him so courageously at Waterloo.

Therefore, no man to be held a prisoner of his own strategy, Mr. Fair adopts different tactics as the need arises, and the result is a highly-intelligent, witty book of criticism, filled with lively learning and good analogy. His method is to give us as much (sometimes too much) of the historical and biographical context as necessary and then to show how each of his losing generals acted out some fatal weakness, or set of weaknesses, in battle. Among his types are: The great captain who won almost every battle by brilliant instinct but lost the last one and the war because he had no sense of strategy (Charles XII of Sweden); the commander-in-chief so committed to his own grand design that he continued "heroically stubborn, exhausting the possibilities of his own mistakes" (Philip II of Spain); the super-general reduced in the end to childish error by an overwhelming psychosomatic paralysis (Napoleon); and, of course, the born military idiot who did everything wrong unfailingly (Ambrose Burnside).

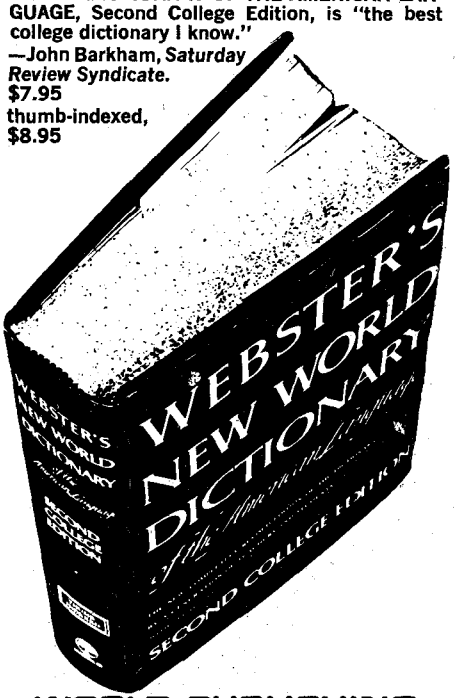
The Romans produced a number of great generals, many competent ones, and quite a few that were merely mediocre. But, so firm were the muscles and reflexes of their military system that, as Mr. Fair points out, it was rare for them to produce a real disaster. And Marcus Crassus, Fair's choice among Romans, is even more atypical of his nation in that he was an almost totally self-made disaster. He was a rich and ambitious politician who, Fair thinks, did that he did in envy of (Pompey and) great Caesar. Becoming a consul and having Syria allotted to him, he took an army against the Parthians. Their horse-archers caught him in the desert and slaughtered his legions near Carrhae. The strange thing about this story, however, is the fact that Crassus resolutely disregarded all the advice that might have saved him. Practically everyone (except Caesar) among the Romans and their allies gave him dire warnings, but Crassus pushed on. Why? Even a general bent

*The collected Poems of Siegfried Sassoon. Copyright 1918 by E. P. Dutton and Co., renewed 1946 by Siegfried Sassoon. Reprinted by permission of The Viking Press, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Just about tops"

THEODORE M. BERNSTEIN, Assistant Managing Editor of the *New York Times*, and author of *Watch Your Language* and *The Careful Writer*, finds it "just about tops in the desk dictionary field. Its definitions are clear and concise, it is complete enough for the general user, it is discriminating in its usage guides and it is up-to-date without deciding that every today word is necessarily a forever word." WEBSTER'S NEW WORLD DICTIONARY OF THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE, Second College Edition, is "the best college dictionary I know."
—John Barkham, *Saturday Review Syndicate*.
$7.95
thumb-indexed, $8.95



WORLD PUBLISHING
TIMES MIRROR

Christmas Cards

The new catalogue of the famous Museum Christmas cards – an unparalleled selection of paintings, drawings, stained glass, sculpture, goldsmiths' work, frescoes and graphics ranging across fifty centuries. ☆ Unusual Museum Christmas presents include exact copies of ancient jewelry in gold and silver, sculpture, rare early American glass, and the new engagement calendar, *Parlors & Palaces*, and the address book, *Flowers for All Seasons*. The cards are priced from 10 to 35 cents; the Christmas presents from $2.50 to $150. They are made especially for the Museum and can be bought *only* by mail or at the Museum itself. Send the coupon below to reserve your copy of the 56-page color catalogue to be mailed about September first.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
255 Gracie Station, New York 10028
Please send me the Museum's new catalogue of Christmas cards, 25 cents enclosed L 6

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

_____ ZIP _____

on making a great name for himself would not, it seems, automatically shun advice from those familiar with the enemy and the terrain; Mr. Fair puts it down to sheer pigheadedness. Plutarch, actually, offers a few clues to a different explanation that is at least worth considering. Crassus, a man of 60, should have been past the age of vaulting ambition. In the course of his fatal expedition, he did a number of strange things that stuck in the minds of the superstitious Romans. He appeared in a funereal black cloak instead of his red one; he had his men served lentils and salt, the traditional Roman food of the dead; he told his men that he intended to break down a bridge so that none would ever return; he joked when the auspices slipped from his hand. It is just possible that Crassus' vainglory took the form of a profound death-wish, a very un-Roman concept.

His story in outline, however, is a familiar one in the annals of frightful generalship, repeated from age to age: Varus, whose army disappeared in the Teutoberg forest; Charles XII of Sweden; General Edward Braddock; Napoleon; General William Elphinstone who lost a British army in Afghanistan; and our own shining example, General Custer. All were men who ignored advice and omens and set out into some alien wilderness equipped with stubborn ignorance. Each allowed his technically-superior army to be trapped into fighting on the enemy's ground, on the enemy's terms. This is an interesting pattern of bad commanders from Crassus to Lyndon Johnson, and I wish Mr. Fair had made a little more of it.

Another pattern – to which Mr. Fair does full sarcastic justice – is a high command's habit of trying to fight the last war over again, with reverse strategy, in a new era. In a time when warfare changed very slowly, the Romans could afford to fight essentially the same battle for 580 years (from Zama to the defeat at Adrianople). But, by Renaissance times, that was no longer possible. The French, Mr. Fair notes, have been the worst victims of this pattern of bad logic: "Each generation of French military savants has looked back over the work of its predecessors, decided they were wrong, and reversed its own position accordingly – in almost every case with lamentable results."

In 1346, English archers riddled the French armored horsemen at Crécy. The French answer to that, ten years later at Poitiers, was to dismount their armored troops and make them slog ahead on foot; the English riddled them again. At Agincourt, in 1415, the French came up with new tactics to solve the problem – the first wave went forward on horse and the second followed on foot. With, as Mr. Fair says, lamentable results. Possibly the only advantage the French gained was having their entire high command wiped out.

When, more than four centuries later, Montcalm met Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham "the same habits of mind that made the French army a bad one at Crécy were still operative and led to much the same result." France, of course, was still trying to win the Franco-Prussian War in 1914 and, in 1939, had the perfect answer to the Kaiser's armies. It is with his French example that Mr. Fair most nearly

Eat-Mit-Fingah Shaggy

I sink we shd eat mit fingah.
I sink we shd gobble gobble mit big fat puss on silvah plattah.
I sink we shd burp ze Stars und Stripes forevah,
Und screech und hollah,
Also makem love in dirty underwah.
I sink we shd wuk und wuk to bring utopah,
But nevah be too nize mit mannah.
Might spoilem.
Might makem sink ze kulchah boojwah,
Und a manifestation of the decadence of the western capitalist poobah.
Therefah, for openah
I sink we all go pow each othah
Und yellem yah! bah!
Etceterah.

REED WHITTEMORE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proves the thesis that military blunders may involve the "defects of character and intellect of a whole people." But what can one say of a nation that has observed the French lose a war and then proceeds to the same place to fight a war in much the same manner?

Most readers of this book will, of course, be chiefly interested in the historical experience that bears most directly on today. And, in this regard, *From the Jaws of Victory* is disappointingly scanty on the subject of Russian generalship and blank on the subject of Chinese. The Russians, surely, have contributed as much to the history of stupidity as any nation, with a long roll of names that includes Sheremetiev, Stësel, Rozhdestvensky, Samsonov, Timoshenko and Budënny (who set some kind of a record by losing an army of 665,000 in the first months of Hitler's invasion).

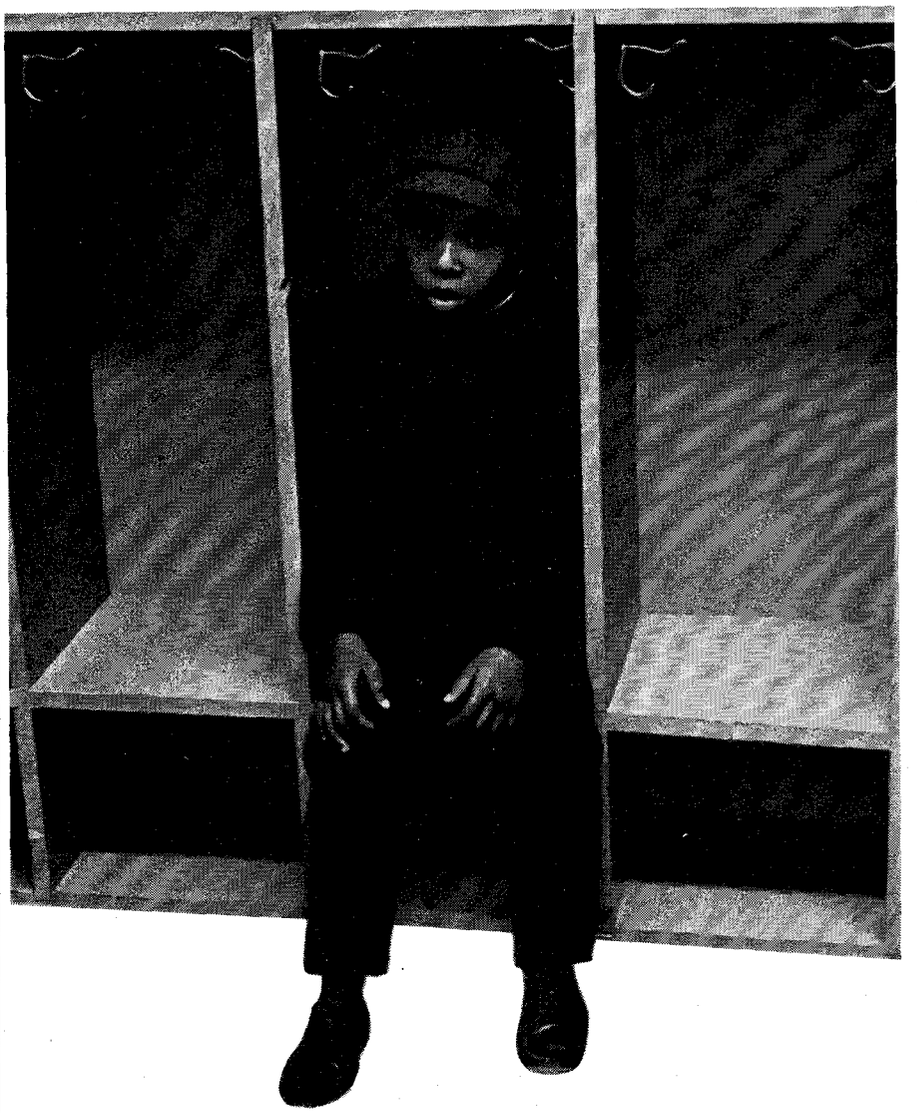
The most immediate interest, however, will be in Mr. Fair's assessment of Westmoreland, who comes off as a so-so general "too strong to be beaten" but "lacking in inventiveness or tactical acuity to turn his own overpowering strength to account." He adds that "the crux of our problem was not even Johnson" with his "own rather brutal nature and pliant morality," but our national obsession with anticommunism, which has prevented American policymakers from exercising "the principle of enlightened opportunism which the English, since Elizabeth's time, have used on the whole with great success."

Mr. Fair ends his book with a mock-eulogy of all bad generals, "those clumsy, wanton, single-minded men" who may yet someday cause us all to rise up and outlaw their enterprise. Or, to put it in another way, if only every boy could be made to realize that somewhere in his country – in a West Point or Frunze Academy – there lives an Ambrose Burnside who may send him to his death some day. *From the Jaws of Victory* may help a little toward that realization.

Robie Macauley

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

J.M. EDELSTEIN *is a lecturer on bibliography at the University of California at Los Angeles.* ROBIE MACAULEY *is a visiting professor this year at The University of Illinois, Chicago Circle.* JONATHAN YARDLEY *is book editor of the* Greensboro Daily News.



Needed:
a safe place to spend the day

No parent *wants* to leave a child alone. Or with an older brother or sister. Or even with a neighbor to 'look in.'

But sometimes there is no choice. Not to go to work could mean no money for food, rent and clothes. That's why the NAACP has launched its National Day Care Fund to combat the problem.

By having Day Care Centers in neighborhoods where they are needed most, many thousands of 3, 4 and 5 year olds will have trained supervision, other kids to play with, hot meals . . . all in a positive environment.

The benefits of your contribution to this fund will be multiplied many times over. It can mean starting a kid off right at a very crucial age. It can make it possible for a parent or parents to be employed instead of staying home and requiring public assistance. It can even prevent death or disfigurement due to fires that always seem to start when children are left unattended.

Your $10 gift can cover the cost of two days at a Day Care Center. $25 can send a child for a week. $100 for a month. Whatever you send is urgently needed and deeply appreciated.

Please send as little or as much as you can to the NAACP National Day Care Fund. Contributions are tax-deductible.

Thank you.

NAACP National Day Care Fund
Dept. CE1, Box 121, Radio City Sta.
New York, New York 10019

A project of the NAACP Special Contribution Fund
tax deductible arm of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Civic Boosterism

Mayor: Notes on the Sixties by Ivan Allen Jr., with Paul Hemphill

(Simon and Schuster: $6.95)

Ivan Allen's account of his two terms as mayor of Atlanta, well-intentioned and even engaging though it is, comes several years behind the times. In the early or middle 60s the achievements of his mayoralty were widely praised as courageous, farsighted and humanitarian, and they can still be so regarded. But perspectives are shifting rapidly in the South, and neither economic boosterism nor racial paternalism is so easily swallowed in 1971. *Mayor*, though it wants to present itself as a casebook in model city government, speaks more to the past than the future.

Not that either Mr. Allen or his accomplishments should be underestimated. He guided Atlanta, as he tells us perhaps more often than we care to hear, from regional to national importance. He presided over a period of difficult but generally successful racial adjustment. In particular, he had the considerable courage to testify before Congress in favor of the public-accommodations bill when neither the times nor his own constituency favored such outspoken egalitarianism; Jimmy Carter may have been lionized in 1971 for his inaugural attack on discrimination, but Mayor Allen's was a much bolder statement. He was, by every accepted standard, a good mayor and possibly even a distinguished one.

Yet he emerges, in his own words, as nothing so much as the very model of the modern southern patrician, one of those new-fangled aristocrats who almost persuades you that there really *is* such an animal as the "white power structure." If in the past it was the old aristocracy that largely determined the South's course – the Wade Hamptons, Harry Byrds and Richard Russells – in the 50s and 60s it was the Chamber of Commerce – the Luther Hodgeses, Albert Brewers and Ivan Allens. They brought new industry to the South, lowered its racial temperature, helped it move into the national mainstream, and the region owes them a large debt of gratitude. But their aspirations, and the motives that underlay them, no longer seem suited to the South's needs.

"Whether we were 'sincerely liberal' is inconsequential," Ivan Allen writes. "We succeeded in Atlanta because we were realistic. . . . It is wonderful to be idealistic and to speak about human values, but you are not going to be able to do one thing about them if you are not economically strong." In other words, the economic cart was placed in front of the humanitarian horse, and for a while the odd contraption managed to run. Atlanta became a great city, its skyscrapers slicing into the Georgia sky, its freeways sprawling from suburb to suburb, its big-league teams (all wooed by superfan Allen) drawing great crowds. "Atlanta was," Mr. Allen rejoices, "all things considered, the city of the 60s in America. In an exhilarating period of growth in most cities throughout the nation, Atlanta grew more than any of the others."

But what Mr. Allen and other proponents of civic boosterism cannot comprehend is the price the South has paid for their version of progress. In genuine outrage he writes: "It was even suggested that the Forward Atlanta program, by bringing in more people and fresh industry, had been a curse rather than a blessing: creating problems in pollution, housing and transportation." Well, on muggy summer days Atlanta smoulders under a thick layer of smog. The huge highways that cut through its center have made the city utterly dependent on the automobile (its affluent whites systematically turn down mass-transit referendums) and have virtually destroyed its lovely natural setting. The handsome baseball stadium is surrounded by a dreary, neglected black ghetto.

On the subject of race, Mr. Allen gives himself away. For all his indisputably commendable deeds, he is an Establishmentarian who holds racist whites in contempt and blacks in a kind of muted condescension. It is difficult to believe in the "liberalism on the race issue" of a man who can offhandedly write, "The Negro people are particularly responsive to a certain flair or a dramatic approach, but they also like a certain dignity in their churches and their community houses," or, ". . . if you don't think word spreads like a brushfire in a black ghetto, you don't know much about that way of life."

The progress that the South made under its Chamber of Commerce leaders was economic; racial peace, or uneasy accommodation, came not as a primary goal but as a necessary tool of economic growth. That was fine for the time; if ulterior motives produced desirable ends, at least they *did* produce them. But things are changing in the South now, and people are more willing to face racial change as a central goal in itself. In such an atmosphere the philosophy that what's good for the Chamber of Commerce is good for everyone else has a rather sour ring.

Jonathan Yardley

A Cultural Force

The Early Nineties. A View From the Bodley Head. by James G. Nelson

(Harvard University Press; $15.00)

The fascinating, often bizarre, world of art and literature of the 1890s has a character which defies precision. Whether the *fin-de-siècle* was the shoddy end of a glorious Victorian epoch or the expression of literati and artists looking for a haven from the crass materialism of that same epoch, whether the nineties were the aftermath of the nineteenth century or the prelude to the twentieth, these are questions which will go round and round in seminar after seminar and book after book. Yeats called it The Tragic Generation. To others it is the period of the Decadents, a term which even today, strangely enough, still carries with it overtones of perversity and sensationalism. It was a paradoxical artistic milieu; the men and women who were part of it were of a profusion of artistic persuasions. It was the time which produced, among many others, Oscar Wilde, Aubrey Beardsley, Ernest Dowson, Arthur Symons, Max Beerbohm, George Moore and W. B. Yeats,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

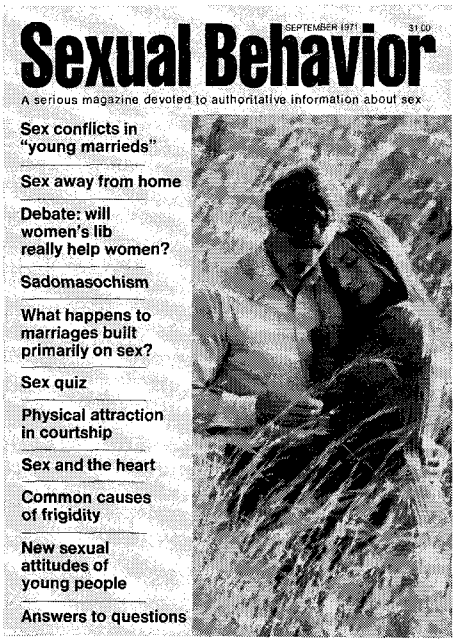
Announcing one of the most important new publications of our time

Why a serious magazine about sex?

"I lose my respect for the man who can make the mystery of sex the subject of a coarse jest, yet when you speak earnestly and seriously on the subject, is silent." *Henry David Thoreau*

Masters and Johnson, the eminent researchers in the physiology and psychology of sexual behavior, estimate that at least half the marriages in this country are contending with some form of sexual inadequacy.

This is one of the reasons why many of America's leading authorities on sexual matters—from a variety of disciplines—have joined together to create one of the most interesting, informative and helpful publications you have ever received: SEXUAL BEHAVIOR.


SEPTEMBER 1971
$1.00
Sexual Behavior
A serious magazine devoted to authoritative information about sex
Sex conflicts in "young marrieds"
Sex away from home
Debate: will women's lib really help women?
Sadomasochism
What happens to marriages built primarily on sex?
Sex quiz
Physical attraction in courtship
Sex and the heart
Common causes of frigidity
New sexual attitudes of young people
Answers to questions

"With the increasing emancipation of science from the shibboleths and taboos which have fettered knowledge of human sexuality, more and more important material is evolving. It is important that this scientific material be translated and transmitted to the lay public by qualified scientists."

ALAN F. GUTTMACHER, M.D.
Pres., Planned Parenthood—World Population

"It is high time that the nonsensical and titillating sex material on the newsstands made room for valid, honest, scientific and helpful material about sex. There has long been a need for forthright, intelligent discussion of sexual matters, and SEXUAL BEHAVIOR will go a long way to fill this need."

HAROLD I. LIEF, M.D.
Prof. of Psychiatry, Director Division of Family Study, U. of Penna. School of Medicine

"I welcome very much the kind of treatment of sex promised by this magazine. The distinguished Board of Editors guarantees both scientific accuracy and honest, socially conscious treatment of the subject."

SEWARD HILTNER, PH.D., D.D.
Professor of Theology and Personality, Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J., and Edward Gallahue Consultant on Religion and Psychiatry to The Menninger Foundation

"SEXUAL BEHAVIOR promises to fill a vacuum in the knowledge of the general public. Sex is the one area that affects our lives so strongly, yet about which so little is known. Certainly, sexual misconceptions are a primary cause of personal and marital difficulties, and SEXUAL BEHAVIOR promises to be an excellent antidote."

THOMAS C. McGINNIS, ED.D.
Pres., American Assn. Marriage and Family Counselors; Assoc. Prof. Graduate School of Health Education, N.Y.U. School of Education

"While small groups of professional people have been publishing and discussing the results of research on sexual behavior for several decades now, SEXUAL BEHAVIOR promises to provide a public forum that will open communication and coordinate the efforts of medical people, social scientists, attorneys, and others working in this important area."

GERALD R. LESLIE, PH.D.
Pres., National Council Family Relations; Prof. of Sociology, U. of Florida

The distinguished Editorial Board:

Richard D. Amelar, M.D.
Pres., Society for the Scientific Study of Sex; Clinical Professor of Urology, and Director, Male Infertility Clinic, N.Y.U. Medical Center

Robert L. Arnstein, M.D.
Chief Psychiatrist, Department of University Health, Yale University

Alan P. Bell, Ph.D.
Senior Psychologist, Institute for Sex Research

Jessie Bernard, Ph.D.
Honorary Research Scholar and former Prof. of Sociology, Pennsylvania State University

Carlfred B. Broderick, Ph.D.
Professor of Family Relationships at the College of Human Development, Pennsylvania State University

Catherine S. Chilman, Ph.D.
Dean of Faculty, Hood College for Women

Harold T. Christensen, Ph.D.
Professor of Sociology, Purdue University

John F. Cuber, Ph.D.
Professor of Sociology, Ohio State University

Eleanor B. Easley, M.D.
Clinical Associate Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology, Duke University Medical School.

Alex L. Finkle, M.D.
Associate Clinical Professor of Urology, University of California School of Medicine

Warren J. Gadpaille, M.D.
Psychiatrist, Denver, Colorado; Member, Committee on Adolescence, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry; Consultant in Family Living, Jefferson County School District, Colorado

Paul H. Gebhard, Ph.D.
Director, Institute for Sex Research

Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn, D.D., Sc.D.
Temple Israel, Boston, Mass.

Alan F. Guttmacher, M.D.
President, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc.

Joan G. Hampson, M.D.
Clinical Assistant Professor, Dept. of Psychiatry, Univ. of Washington, School of Medicine

Seward Hiltner, Ph.D., D.D.
Professor of Theology and Personality, Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J., and Edward Gallahue Consultant on Religion and Psychiatry to the Menninger Foundation

S. Leon Israel, M.D.
Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology, University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine

Gerald R. Leslie, Ph.D.
President, National Council on Family Relations; Prof. of Sociology, Univ. of Florida

Harold I. Lief, M.D.
Professor of Psychiatry and Director of the Division of Family Study, Univ. of Pennsylvania School of Medicine; Dir. of the Center for the Study of Sex Education in Medicine

Eleanore Braun Luckey, Ph.D.
Professor and Head of the Department of Child Development and Family Relations, University of Connecticut

J. Lawrence Manuell, M.D.
President-Elect, American College Health Association; Director, University Health Services, New York University

James L. Mathis, M.D.
Professor and Chairman, Department of Psychiatry, Virginia Medical College

Roy W. Menninger, M.D.
President, The Menninger Foundation

Thomas C. McGinnis, Ed.D.
President, American Association of Marriage and Family Counselors; Associate Professor in the Graduate School of Health Education, New York University School of Education

Emily H. Mudd, Ph.D.
Professor Emeritus of Family Study in Psychiatry, University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine

Patricia Schiller, J.D.
Executive Director, American Association of Sex Educators and Counselors

John L. Schimel, M.D.
Associate Director, William Alanson White Institute of Psychiatry, Psychoanalysis and Psychology, New York City

Some of the subjects that will be covered:

Alcohol and sex • Blackmail and sex
Cross-dressing • Child molesting • Coital frequency • Psychological castration
Compulsive coital activity • Dreams about sex
Depression and sex • Duration of intercourse
Sudden death during sex • Effeminacy in boys
Effect of TV on child's sexual attitudes
Fantasies during intercourse • Flirting
Frigidity • Foreplay and female orgasm
Graffiti • Hypochondria and sex
Hostility and sex • Headache and sex
Inability to reach orgasm in men • Incest
Impotence • Jealousy • Lesbians
Lewd phone calls • The "Lolita" complex
Marriages without sex • Masturbation
Multiple orgasms
Menstrual cycle and sexual desire
Men who are uninterested in sex
Misconceptions about genital dimensions
Nymphomania • Nudity in sleep and coitus
Obsessions about sex • Painful coitus
Pretended climax • Phobias about sex
Peeping Toms • Prolonging intercourse
Premature ejaculation • The "call girl"
Promiscuity • Petting • Rape • Ritualized sex
Sex in old age • Sadism • Sexual jokes
Sexual causes of divorce • Sexual myths
Sex-related problems in business
Sex without passion • Simultaneous climax
Teenagers and the pill • Violence and sex

Special FREE EXAMINATION offer

SEE FOR YOURSELF—WITHOUT RISKING A PENNY

Already, hundreds of thousands of readers are enjoying SEXUAL BEHAVIOR. We invite you to send for a copy of the newest issue.

If you like it, you will be enrolled as a Charter Subscriber at the special rate of one year (12 issues) for only $7.50—instead of the regular $10.00 subscription price. If you're not satisfied with your first issue for any reason, simply write "Cancel" on our bill, keep the issue, and pay nothing.

Act now. Don't miss another issue of SEXUAL BEHAVIOR—the magazine more and more Americans are reading and talking about.

Published by Interpersonal Publications, Inc., 299 Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017. Subscription Offices: 1255 Portland Place, Boulder, Colo. 80302

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and has been often and, I think, best described as the last great flowering of the romantic sensibility touched off by the influence of the French symbolists and naturalists and their ideas of *l'art pour l'art*. Above all, it was a time of change at every level of life and art.

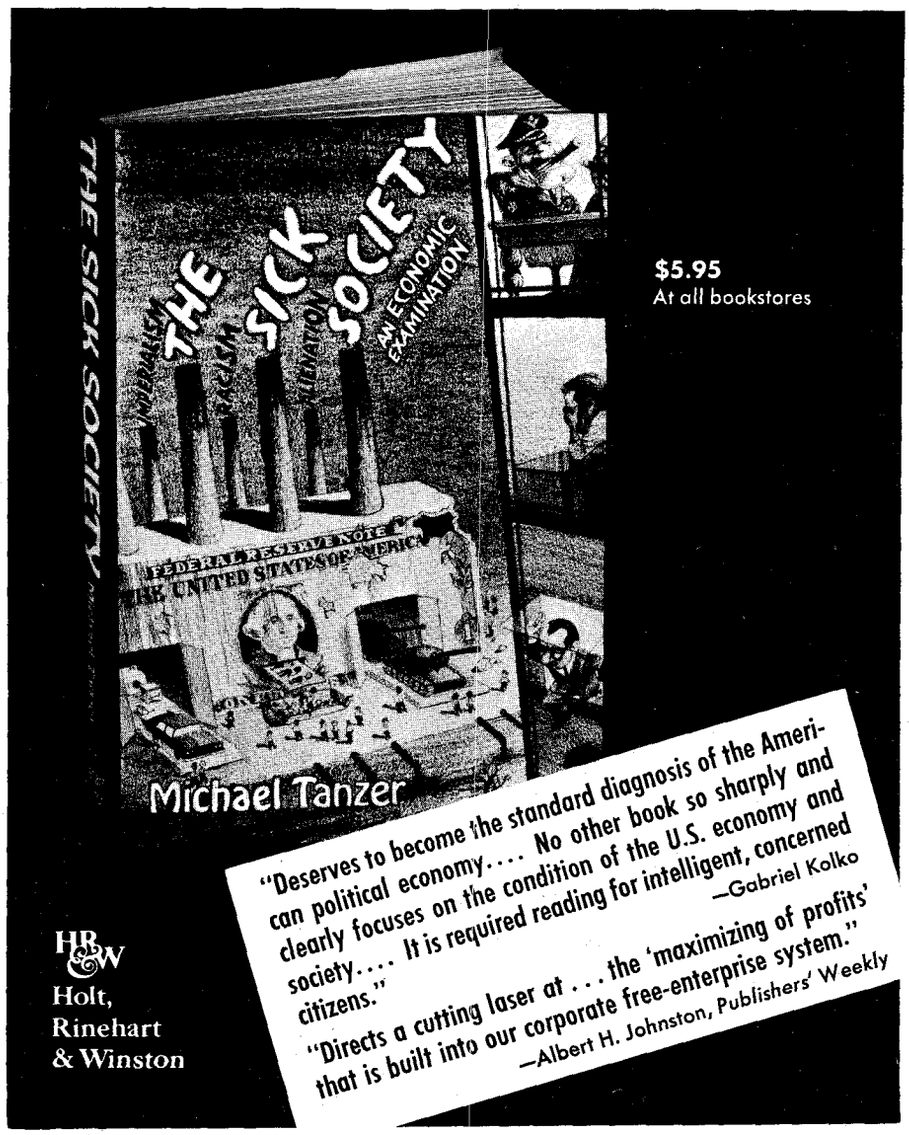
The vortex of this exotic decade in the arts was the Bodley Head, a small London bookshop and publishing house which was a cultural force in its own right. By viewing these years of the early nineties through the history of the Bodley Head, its partners, Elkin Mathews and John Lane, their authors, artists and printers, Mr. Nelson has found a special way of describing the taste, style and flavor of that period and of expressing the diversity which that taste encompassed. He succeeds not only in presenting with interest the story of the growth of one of the first modern publishing houses but also in analyzing its relation to and its impact on the artists and writers and on the aesthetic development of the decade.

Without the sympathetic and encouraging backing of such publishers and booksellers as John Lane and Elkin Mathews, it is unlikely that the artistic movement of the nineties would have taken the shape it did. It was a golden age for bookmaking as a craft, with William Morris at the Kelmscott Press, Charles Ricketts at the Vale Press and Emery Walker at the Doves Press, and the Bodley Head books were the epitome of the best books produced at the time. Lane and Mathews achieved the ideal aims not only of commercial profit but also of literary merit in as fine a setting of printing and binding as could be produced. The Bodley Head books also had a large impact on America where two new publishing houses, Copeland and Day of Boston and Stone and Kimball of Cambridge and Chicago, were quick to see their attractiveness and imported and sold widely the most interesting of them. Particularly was it a golden age for little magazines. They ranged all the way from *The Spirit Lamp* which Lord Alfred Douglas put out as an undergraduate at Oxford, to *The Pagan Review*, for the single number of which William Sharp wrote all the pieces under different pseudonyms, to the brilliant and famous *The Yellow Book* which was published by the Bodley Head and edited and illustrated by Aubrey Beardsley.

Much publishing and booktrade history is dry as dust, bogged down in fine analyses of account books, typographical details, production costs and inventories – all very important, indeed, but only to the specialist. Mr. Nelson's book, like those which have been written about Sylvia Beach's Shakespeare & Co. in the Paris of the twenties, Harold Monro's Poetry Bookshop in London between 1912 and 1932, and Frances Steloff's Gotham Book Mart in the New York of our own time, is first-rate publishing and bookselling history at the same time that it illuminates a period; it succeeds because he has written a book not only about books but also about literature.

J. M. Edelstein

JET TO EUROPE
$199 ROUND TRIP
NO AGE LIMIT
Over 140 flights available to London, Paris, Dublin, Frankfort, Amsterdam and Rome.
I.S.U. TRAVEL: 128 West 82nd St. N.Y., N.Y. 10024 877-1724


THE SICK SOCIETY
AN ECONOMIC EXAMINATION
Michael Tanzer
$5.95
At all bookstores
"Deserves to become the standard diagnosis of the American political economy.... No other book so sharply and clearly focuses on the condition of the U.S. economy and society.... It is required reading for intelligent, concerned citizens." —Gabriel Kolko
"Directs a cutting laser at ... the 'maximizing of profits' that is built into our corporate free-enterprise system." —Albert H. Johnston, Publishers' Weekly
HR&W
Holt, Rinehart & Winston

The Indochina Hemorrhage

A collection of articles on the war in Indochina, reprinted from *The New Republic*, is now available as a 92-page booklet. Included are articles by Hans J. Morgenthau, Philip Balboni, Townsend Hoopes, Stanley Hoffmann, Henry Steele Commager and the editors of *NR*. Price (incl. postage and handling):

1-9 – one dollar a copy
10-50 – 85 cents
over 50 – 75 cents

Address orders to:
The New Republic
1244 19th St., NW
Washington, DC 20036

Coming:

Paul Streeten
reviews
W.W. Rostow's
Politics and the Stages of Growth

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Communication

I read the article by Ken Bode in the July 10 *New Republic* ("Democratic Party Reform – Turning Sour") with more than a casual interest. Mr. Bode did an outstanding job as research director for the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection in 1969 and early 1970. Moreover, he has a keen understanding of the 18 Guidelines for national convention delegate selection in 1972 and the systems that have been employed in each of the states. But his conclusion that progress is lagging badly is more pessimistic than is justified by the facts.

•Each of the 50 states has set up a Democratic Party Reform Commission.

•Each state has taken some action toward compliance with the 18 guidelines adopted by our commission and incorporated into the Call to the 1972 Democratic Convention.

•10 states are in full compliance with the guidelines.

•In addition to the 10, 28 states have informed us that they expect to complete action within the next 6 months. We hope to get similar word from the remaining 12 states shortly.

[We] are [experiencing] some [difficulty] with several of the 11 largest states. But since Mr. Bode's article was written, two of these (Ohio and New Jersey) have come into full compliance. New York has met 16 of the 18 guidelines and will do everything it can, we are assured, to fully comply. Legislative action is required to complete compliance in New York, however, and Republican Governor Rockefeller is opposed to this legislation.

In Illinois, the legislature has passed three bills needed for full compliance, although we understand they face a possible veto by Republican Governor Ogilvie. The Illinois Democratic State Central Committee has also unanimously endorsed all of the guidelines. We expect action on party rule revisions to be completed in the coming weeks.

Mr. Bode's analysis of Michigan is excellent. The Democratic Party there faces major legislative obstacles. But Pennsylvania did not receive enough recognition for its efforts. Here the Democratic Party has conducted 11 public hearings, has written new party rules which may have been officially adopted by the time this is published and has promised full and vigorous support for legislative changes required.

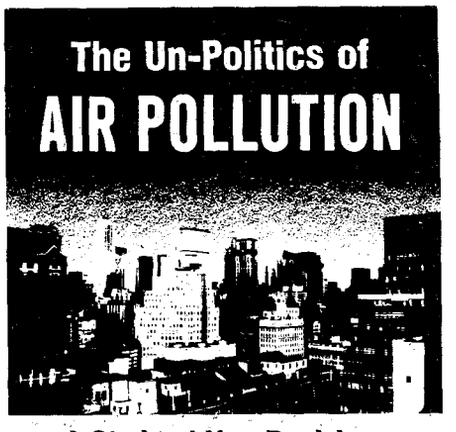
Texas cannot employ the unit rule at any level of the delegate selection process, for that has been outlawed by the 1968 Democratic National Convention as well as by this commission and the Democratic National Committee. Nor has a "winner-take-all" system been adopted. The Texas State Democratic Party has yet to act on rules. But the State Legislature did enact, with strong backing from Governor Smith, a unique law requiring each political party to file party rules with the Secretary of State outlining their convention procedures, etc., before the candidates of a party may appear on the ballot.

In California, the state party leadership is wrestling with a pre-primary selection system of choosing slates of delegates versus a post-primary system. Their winner-take-all primary poses a number of serious problems. The important point, however, is that the state party leadership is working very seriously to comply. Key members of the state legislature, along with top party functionaries, have made special trips to Washington to discuss their problems.

Much more could be written about the impressive work that has been done in Maine, Alabama, North Carolina, Missouri, Oklahoma, Iowa, New Hampshire, Aaron Henry's party in Mississippi, Ohio and New Jersey – all of whom have met the guidelines; as well as Tennessee, Arizona and Idaho who await only final party ratification to achieve compliance. But there is equally significant progress in Florida – a complete turn around from a year ago. And Wisconsin, Wyoming, Montana, Vermont, Georgia and others are moving forward.

Mr. Bode's figure of 24 states that have still not met the "timeliness" requirement, under which selection of national convention delegates must not begin before the calendar year of the convention, is not current. This figure is now down to 15, of which 8 have indicated they are awaiting final action on party rules that will eliminate this problem. This does not mean that the remaining 7 will not comply.

Our commission is determined to achieve full compliance by all of the 50 states. The commission meeting of July 16 voted to provide the 1972 Democratic Convention with a detailed report on compliance by each of the states. The commission also voted to intervene in court suits and credential challenges



A Study of Non-Decision-making in the Cities

MATTHEW A. CRENSON

Today air pollution is one of the nation's major concerns. But while pollution has been with us for many years, only recently have we begun to worry about it. In some cities dirty air is still not a political issue. It is a "non-issue" — a subject for potential political decisionmaking that has failed to surface. But cities do not neglect their dirty air — or other potential issues — by accident, as this pioneering study shows. The author's findings reveal much about the real nature of local political systems.

"A landmark work in urban politics." — J. David Greenstone, The University of Chicago

"Superb." — Peter Bachrach, Temple University $10.00

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
Baltimore, Maryland 21218

RAPID POPULATION GROWTH

Consequences and Policy Implications

prepared by the National Academy of Sciences with the support of the Agency for International Development

Despite rising alarm about the world's population explosion, decisive government action to meet the crisis has often been slow in coming. One reason may be that reliable information is lacking on the full implications of today's unprecedented rate of growth.

To fill that gap, the National Academy of Sciences enlisted some of America's leading population experts in undertaking the present study. Volume I, a concise overview, relates their findings to public policy on population control and makes specific recommendations. Volume II contains technical papers on all aspects of population growth. This authoritative and comprehensive work will be invaluable to everyone concerned about the population crisis.

Vols. I & II (cloth) 712 pages $20.00
Vol. I only (paperback) 120 pages $2.45

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
Baltimore, Maryland 21218

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as a "friend of the court" where appropriate to uphold the guidelines.

We are already planning to increase our staff for the final 12 months of our efforts to achieve reform. We have been promised further help by Democratic National Committee Chairman O'Brien if an inventory in early fall indicates it is needed. Incidentally, Mr. O'Brien persuaded the Democratic National Committee to adopt our guidelines intact in the Call to the 1972 Democratic National Convention. Leaders in many of the state Democratic parties also deserve credit for their active help.

In short, we are encouraged by the progress across the country. But we urge all the friends of reform to give strong support to party leaders who are responding positively. By successfully completing this task, the Democratic Party will have achieved its most important reform in 100 years. For the first time in our history, a political party will be genuinely offering the young people, women, and the minorities the opportunity of full and meaningful participation in all its important decisions.

Donald M. Fraser, M.C.
Chairman,
Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection

Correspondence

China Mission

Sirs:

The promoters of the V.I.P. trip to China should check their own facts before they complain about mine. (See *Correspondence* columns July 24-31). Prescott says that free trips for some persons were offered in "the earliest planning phase." I spoke with at least one who was still under the apprehension that he would get to Peking at no charge until I gave him the news that he, too, would have to pay, if the visas ever came through.

John Stenhouse describes himself as Chairman of the Executive Committee and minimizes the role of A. Thomas Fruin, who was the man who was expected to get the visas when I wrote about the venture, and who was the leading incorporator and director of the firm that was soliciting applicants. Mr. Stenhouse's letter bears out reports that there has been a subsequent reorganization.

I certainly would agree that it would be in the public interest for 250 prominent Americans to visit China. It appears now, however, that President Nixon is going to beat most of them to it.

Richard Dudman

Author's Reply

Sirs:

In *The New Republic* of July 24, 1971 Professor Wayne O'Neil, a minor apostle of the Academic Left, produced an exquisitely ham-handed analysis of my book, *Fragments of a Lesson Plan*. . . .

Now, folks, for O'Neil's sake, let us state baldly what *Fragments of a Lesson Plan* is about:

It is a personal account of my own struggle as a man in the "helping" trades (psychology) to learn, despite vast ignorance, the lessons taught by my "clients".

It is also a diatribe against dehumanization of people whether by prisons, school systems, mental hospitals, university types, housing and welfare bureaucracies and hack politicians (right or left).

But mostly it is an exploration in the hope of discovering more useful ways for "change agents" to function; ways that are liberating in Paulo Freire's sense rather than oppressing. And it is a record of what I learned.

Part of the lesson is that no matter how "political" our vision, nothing will make sense, nothing will work unless we begin with "the people's agenda"; unless we are prepared to join in the task of dealing with their felt needs; unless in short, we *begin* with people and build but slowly and cautiously toward ideology, or better yet – theory. Some may don their Komsomolskaya neckerchiefs and march to a glorious tin drum but (maybe because I'm lazy and hate to march) I prefer to remain a while longer in the muck of self examination and human uncertainty.

Robert Belenky
Goddard College

American Land Reform

Sirs:

Peter Barnes' articles on "Land Reform in America" accurately describe some of the vast changes that have taken place in our agricultural sector over the past two decades, including the sharp increase in the average size of farm holdings. He also attempts to analyze the causes of this phenomenon and recommends government policies designed to create a climate better suited for the survival of the small farmer. Unfortunately, Mr. Barnes' enthusiasm for the social and personal benefits that might accrue from making small farms economically viable has led him into very serious analytical errors regarding the causes and possible cures of agricultural concentration.

Most of my points can be included within two broad categories. First, the decline of the small farmer is almost entirely due to the fact that today, efficient farming, like most other industries, requires large capital inputs and highly skilled management which must be spread over relatively large productive units. There is nothing in our current government farm policies which deliberately favors large units. Second, the undoubted advantages that large farms and farmers enjoy are largely the advantages enjoyed by the rich generally.

Mr. Barnes makes much of the fact that there exist very large farms, some of which are part of fully integrated operations which combine food growing processing and distribution. But the existence of large, profitable farms does not by itself prove that individuals could not enter farming if small units really were economically efficient. It might indicate that farming requires high capital inputs and it is difficult for the average man to get access to large amounts of capital. But it is also hard for an individual to enter any manufacturing industry and farming, despite the romantic aura that (perhaps appropriately) surrounds the land in a manufacturing industry.

It is probably true that farm subsidies to large operations may be unnecessary, in that large units can remain economically efficient and competitive without them. However, this does not mean that the basis of their competitive position is the subsidies. At worst, subsidies are an unnecessary windfall which should be reduced – they are not the reason why large farms can outdo the small farmer. Nor does the fact large as well as small

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

farmers get the benefits of public reclamation projects mean that the large farms can "flood (sic) the market" with cheap farm goods. If small farms also get federally provided water and if they are as efficient per unit producers, elementary economics demonstrates that they can successfully compete with larger rivals.

To sum up, large farm enterprises succeed because they are efficient and not because of any improper economic power they wield. This cannot be reversed except at great economic cost. Attempts to increase the percentage of population engaged in agriculture through limiting farm sizes are totally self-defeating. Many of the inequities identified by Mr. Barnes' articles stem from the very nature of a nonsocialist society and their cure, if cure there is, can only come from a total reordering of our political-economic system. Tinkering with the farm sector alone will not do the trick.

Robert L. Bard
The University of Connecticut

Public Utilities

Sirs:

Your article "Cutting Down Ma Bell" in the July 17 issue is a fine statement of the way utility commissions around the country pass out unjustified rate increases to the A.T.&T. subsidiaries, including California's Pacific Tel. & Tel. Co. Your comment on the recent rate case in which the California Commission granted an increase of a staggering $143,000,000 to P.T.&T., "The California Public Utilities Commission, all five of whose members are Reagan-appointed Republicans, bowed to nearly every Pacific thrust" is quite accurate, but an important footnote should be added. There was one dissenter to the Commission's egregious give-away, Commissioner Thomas Moran. Commissioner Moran specifically objected to two of the outstanding give-away features which your article noted, namely treating Western Electric Company as though it were a complete stranger to Pacific Tel. & Tel. and to A.T.&T. and allowing the telephone company to charge customers for Federal Income Tax payments which the company would never pay (accelerated depreciation).

In addition, Commissioner Moran has during the past year testified before the California Legislature's Public Utility Committees and severely criticized the Commission's allowance of accelerated depreciation to P.T.&T. in the form in which it was allowed, the attempt by the Chairman of the Commission to limit active appearance in rate cases to attorneys, and the Chairman's attempt to institute a rule for "rotating" members of the staff which would have deprived the Commission's staff of a great deal of its expertise.

Although Commissioner Moran was also appointed by Governor Reagan, he has displayed an independence and a concern for the public interest which is most commendable.

George Slaff
Hollywood, California

Green Revolution

Sirs:

Michael Perelman's "Second Thoughts on the Green Revolution" (*NR*, July 17) appears to overlook the essential point of this agricultural effort. Mr. Perelman doubts the wisdom of those who have created the technology and promoted the new agriculture methods, because of the associated problems and risks. But thanks in part to the new technology, based on high-yielding seeds and chemical fertilizers, the Indian subcontinent in particular has avoided a much greater and imminent risk of massive hunger in the period immediately before the first great harvest of 1967/68. And the spectre of population outrunning food supplies, of widespread famine, that was so widely feared up to 1967, has disappeared from our immediate concerns.

Mr. Perelman says the promoters of the green revolution are betting a lot of people's lives on the uncertainties of the new technology without being sure of what is in the cards. But humans can never know what is in the cards and must always play on the basis of probabilities. Yes, the technology poses risks; but the developing countries and international assistance agencies are aware of the possible dangers and are working to avoid them. The much greater risk, nay the virtual certainty, before the new technology showed its productive power, was the inability of the traditional technology to meet immediate food needs. At least with the green revolution cards in hand, the developing countries face the next set of risks leading from strength. What re-

Nine of America's foremost lawyers and social critics analyze the meaning of legal order in America

Howard Zinn
Edgar Z. Friedenberg
Robert Paul Wolff
Daniel J. Boorstin
Anthony F. C. Wallace
Stanley Diamond
Ronald Dworkin
Lon L. Fuller
Richard Barnet

THE RULE OF LAW
Edited by Robert Paul Wolff
Cloth $6.95; paperback $2.95
SIMON AND SCHUSTER

THE COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE ASSASSINATIONS
(fully described in the Congressional Record of Dec. 17, 1969)

Labors quietly, systematically and tenaciously to uncover

WHO IS KILLING OUR LEADERS

- *By very tedious but equally important investigative work*
- *By a never ending succession of interviews*
- *By employing advanced computer technology*
- *By filing suits under the Freedom of Information Act*

Do you really believe the Warren Commission's conclusion that Oswald alone killed JFK? Why was another gun used in the ballistics test in Sirhan's case? Why was it then immediately destroyed?
Why are Tennessee and Federal authorities so doggedly opposed to giving a trial to James Earl Ray?
The work of our committee takes time and money. We need ideas. We need contributions.
Please write to us and we'll send you our Newsletter

Committee to Investigate Assassinations
927 Fifteenth St., NW
Washington, D. C. 20005

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MANUSCRIPTS INVITED FOR PUBLICATION
All subjects. Fiction, non-fiction, poetry. New authors welcome. For free Author's Guide to Publication, write to Dept. A.G.
DORRANCE & COMPANY
1809 Callowhill, Phila., Pa. 19130

"AT THE VERY MOMENT *when parochial schools are being bombed by the Court as too religious, many are becoming highly secularized, the grade-school texts pumping out banalities of secular liberalism, the informing ideology resembling that of flower children far more closely than Christian tradition. Perhaps the most appropriate sentiment is Paul Claudel's; 'God writes straight with crooked lines.'*" nr

For a free copy of NATIONAL REVIEW, write: Dept. L, 150 E. 35 Street, N. Y. 10016.

GIVE...
So more will live
HEART FUND

SHYSTERISM -A tradition with the U.S. legal profession. We've all heard of fancy lawyer fees at the expense of injured persons. Who hasn't heard of probate and divorce swindles that benefit lawyers?

There is a solution - put the shysters out of business! Reform is badly needed, but lawyers will never support real reform because it would cost them too much. Shysterism must be killed by non-lawyers.

Lawyer Reform of the U.S. is a citizens' lobby to reform the legal profession. We're sick of being swindled and hoodwinked by lawyers.

We want no-fault auto insurance, better divorce and probate laws. The lawyer - overpopulation - problem - a uniquely U.S. problem - must be solved. The huge surplus of lawyers assures continued shysterism.

Membership in Lawyer Reform is $12.50 per year and includes a subscription to the Lawyer Reform News. (Lawyers are ineligible for membership.) Perhaps you would like to start a local chapter.

By joining Lawyer Reform you can do something positive to undermine the smug smoothness of the lawyer-racket.

Lawyer Reform of the U.S.
1480 W. Bayshore Road
Palo Alto, CA 94303

sponsible government could have opted to do otherwise?

Mr. Perelman admits food production *must* be increased. To imply that the green revolution is not part of the answer, one must argue either (1) that the revolution is certain to fail shortly, leaving the countries worse off, or (2) that the same (or adequate) increases in food output could have been achieved by a different technology that would have better side effects than has the green revolution. Mr. Perelman tries to argue both these points.

It is argued that the new seeds may be attacked by disease, and because they are widely planted, could result in a disaster like the Irish potato famine; the old seeds, already naturally selected, are less open to blight. This is correct; the disease risk is higher with the new seeds. However, unlike the potato transplant, the new wheat and rice seeds have been very purposely adapted to their several new environments, they have been developed by well-staffed and competent agricultural research establishments in the various countries (better in some than others, of course), and new varieties are being developed every year precisely to be available if the earlier varieties develop important flaws. In other words, the new varieties are monitored by an international research and development capacity which was not available for the Irish potato.

It is argued that the green revolution is creating unemployment and that landlords and a new set of farmers (retired professionals, etc.) are reaping the harvest, while American petrochemical companies benefit from sales of "heavy doses" of fertilizers and pesticides. The employment effects of the new technology have been much written about and little studied. The effects differ between countries, crops and legal and institutional structures in the various agricultural sectors. In India at least the net impact thus far has been to *increase* the demand for labor. Some kinds of mechanization reduce agricultural employment (while raising output), and some kinds can increase agricultural employment by enabling double-cropping. Rather than criticizing the advent of scientific agriculture, one needs to develop policies that will slow the adoption of labor-displacing machinery by making sure that the price of such machines reflects the real cost of capital to the economy.

It is true that a new set of farmers is emerging, but it is also true that larger numbers of small farmers are increasing their incomes by using the new high-yielding varieties. Fortunately the new technology can be applied to large and small farms alike and does *not* need large-scale mechanized cultivation. Mr. Perelman cites the important problem of the position of tenants, a problem deserving serious attention. But it is one of the sharper ironies of the real world that the position of Indian tenants with uncertain land rights may be more endangered by the very attempts at land reform the article proposes as an alternative; a landlord who expects the state to scrutinize land records in order to establish the basis for a tenant's rights, has a strong motivation to evict the tenant in advance as a means of weakening the tenant's claim. As for the petrochemical companies, their fertilizers were critical in the initial years but are being replaced rapidly by Indian production.

The new varieties, we are told, depend on subsidies because they cost more per acre to produce than the old varieties, and the subsidies are a burden on the governments. In fact the higher cost is the annual investment in fertilizer, an investment normally not made on traditional varieties. But the investment yields higher output; what counts is the net return after the product is sold. Price supports were introduced originally to induce farmers to take the risk of investing in the needed fertilizer and other inputs, and switching to new seeds and methods that, from the farmer's viewpoint, were untried. Output is generally so much greater from the new seeds that the cost of the inputs is amply covered, leaving substantial increases in farmers' incomes. With larger harvests each year and output rising faster than consumption, pressures are developing for the governments to allow prices to decline. Farmers will then earn somewhat smaller profits, some will switch to other crops; but food prices will be lower, real incomes of poor consumers will rise and the economies will have scope for creating more employment opportunities without inflationary effects.

Perhaps traditional methods could have duplicated the results of the new technology; the fact is they did not; they were rapidly leading to disaster. And as for increasing supply by reducing losses to rats, the costs of this approach might well far exceed the cost of using the new seeds, even if we knew how to control rats in the tropics, which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we do not. Storage losses can be reduced through construction of rodent-proof facilities, and some of this is being done. A conversation with the US Department of Agriculture about the quantity of field losses to mice in America and the problems of control, should disabuse anyone about the usefulness and feasibility of attacking field losses in the developing countries as a way of increasing food.

Robert J. Muscat
Chief, Planning Division
Bureau for Near East and South Asia
Agency for International Development

Kauffmann,

tomically imprecise, from two other slights to Nichols. *Carnal Knowledge* is hailed as a watershed film in its candor by people who dismiss *The Graduate*, as if the new work were not the social-historical consequence of the earlier one, as if Nichols had not blazed the way for himself. Also, I've seen scant recognition of his increasing refinement in camera style. Compared with his previous films, the camera work here (managed by Guiseppe Rotunno) verges on the austere. Nichols is concentrating more and more on the frame – the held shot – as a source of power. Frequently there is a long take of one person, sometimes in close-up, who is motionless while bustle happens around him. It's a use of the camera as watcher, as *drainer*, rather than as participant – surely not the only way to use the camera but one that implies a growing stillness in the director, a sense of security, of serious fundamental decisions.

Carnal Knowledge has none of the arty angles of *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, little of the cleverish cutting of *The Graduate*, none of the grandiloquence that spotted *Catch-22*. Nichols is simply bearing down, intently; but this simplicity apparently doesn't count for much at a time when Ken Russell and Bertolucci are being hailed as superb stylists.

Nichols is still a man who essentially looks for things to do, not a man who essentially *has* things he wants to do, which is why he is not (and may never be) a major artist. But he's a munificently gifted director who is clearly concerned to grow.

Ingmar Bergman has made over 30 films so, naturally, some of them are not only not masterpieces, they're not even good. His latest, *The Touch*, is one of the latter. One reason for its failure is unique for Bergman: it has very small ambitions. Often he has reached for something large and missed it, as in *Hour of the Wolf*. Here he has reached for something smaller-scale – and has missed it by a wider margin.

Bibi Andersson has been married for 15 years to a successful physician and devoted husband (Max von Sydow). She has a magazine-ad house and garden, complete with two children. An American archeologist (Elliott Gould) comes to work in the neighborhood and falls in love with her. She has an affair with him that shakes two years of her life and almost splits the marriage. At the end she and Gould part.

Bergman has said he wrote the film as the portrait of a woman whose safe enclosures are broken and who is eventually matured by dangers. We don't see this. She and her life are such stereotypes that the lover is more interesting, badly drawn as he is. He is (blatantly) different from her: homeless, unrooted, insecure – an unpleasant, almost irrational neurotic, and he comes across as sick and repellent, rather than anguished, but at least we can't foretell every move he's going to make. Some of *her* moves are shockingly cliché, like the scene where she changes her clothes four or five times before she goes for her first rendezvous and, to top the cuteness, finally selects the clothes with which she began.

At the film's end she says she can't go off with Gould because of her responsibilities; he says she's lying. Bergman maintains that the ending is ambiguous – maybe Gould is right and she's kidding herself out of cowardice. But that's not what we see. In the film she is patently telling the truth, and as Gould is pathologically selfish, we can all breathe a sigh of relief that she doesn't go with him – to inevitable disaster. What may have been intended as a drama of life-extension comes out a sentimental tale of a lady with bad taste in lovers.

Max von Sydow could have played his part standing on his head, and I rather wish he had. Bibi Andersson could not give less than truth and appeal to anything she does, and she gives them here even in this dull role. Elliott Gould apparently doesn't know what he's doing or why. Most of the dialogue is in English – Bergman's English, presumably – and sounds like the dialogue used in dubbing. But the one who sounds clumsiest is Gould.

Something in this whole project seems to have thrown Bergman off from the beginning. The use of language is illogical; why do the Swedish couple speak English when alone although the doctor speaks Swedish to his assistants? There are more pretty-pretty shots than in any Bergman film since *All These Women*. The editing lacks confidence. One way to tell: I was *aware* of a lot of the cuts all through. The sound-track is unsubtle: when Gould shows Andersson a newly rediscovered statue of the Virgin, a woman's voice sings medieval church music. Everything in this film is laid out, nothing is created; because, I think, there wasn't much to create.

Yankee, go home. Sweden for the Swedish. Bergman films for Bergman and his ensemble. The mistakes they have made up to now have been daring, have been *their* mistakes. *The Touch* is a detour up a bland alley.

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 516 West 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001.

Personals

McGOVERN '72: Campaign materials – $1.00. Duke University Students for McGovern, Box 7516 College Station, Durham, North Carolina 22708.

REQUEST FURTHER INFORMATION from J. H. New Republic Box 4960.

"GO BIG REDNECK" Bumpersticker. $1 each. Ad-Art, Box 774, Madison, Nebraska 68748.

TALL, ATTRACTIVE, PROFESSIONAL man, 40, seeks elegant dowager/cosmopolitan lady, (preferably Santa Barbara area) who might enjoy providing him discreet coaching in etiquette/sophisticated behavior. The New Republic Box 4980.

HAS YOUR GOD let you down? Are you sure? The Monastic Order of Enlightened Artists is not for everybody. Perhaps we are for you. Write Monastic Order of Enlightened Artists, Box 1016, South Lake Tahoe, California 95705.

DUMP NIXON '72 large, colorful decal. $1.00 ppd. Box 97, College Park, Md. 20740.

READ *"THE ENEMY: What Every American Should Know About Imperialism"* and like this reader, you'll become its unsolicited promoter. Exposes the concealed reaction and heightened exploitation behind the humanistic rhetoric of liberalism and fake radicalism, and shows the urgent necessity for revolutionary socialism. By Felix Greene, a Senior official of the B.B.C. before he saw and told the truth. $1.95 from Random House. Two excellent related books: "Empire and Revolution" by David Horowitz, $1.95, Random House, New York, New York, and "Who Rules America?" by G. William Domhoff, $2.45 Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NIXON VOODOO DOLL with hexing equipment, $2.00. World of Witch-Kraft, Box 337, Corte Madera, California 94925.

WOULD YOU INVEST $1.00 to know *what* truth *is*?

The new generation is not impressed by facts. THEY WANT TRUTH. Learn the difference between 'fact' and 'truth'. Learn how to organize facts to get "total understanding" or truth, on a subject. Update your mind to a new dimension in thinking that is years ahead of the classroom. LEARN WHAT TRUTH IS. For a "formula for truth" Copr;, send $1.00 to Truthology 619 Central Ave. Albany, N.Y. 12206

TRANSFORM THE LIFE of an underprivileged American Indian school boy or girl with your friendship and financial assistance. F.F.C. or telephone 301-652-0536

DUMP NIXON BUMPER STRIPS – 2/$1. W. Stacey, New Republic Box 4955

BEAUTIFUL OVERLOOKED LAND BARGAINS. Government acreage from $25 – Exciting facts $1.00, LANDSEARCH, Box FD-3, Belmont, California 94002

DELIGHTFUL, EDUCATIONAL VACATIONING. Fasting. Reducing. Rejuvenation. Health Education. Peaceful surroundings. Cooperative employment available. SHANGRI-LA, Bonita Springs, Florida 33923 – NR

MEDITATION? Practice invokes knowledge, evokes insight. First year bimonthly training course free. Write MEDITATIONS, P.O. Box 556N, Ojai, California 93023.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH. $10.00 and sample to Elisabeth King, 41 E. 29th St., New York 10016.

KODACOLOR PRICE-BREAKOUT – Perfect prints, 8 or 12-shot rolls, $2; 20-shot rolls, $3; 36-shot rolls, $5. Money-back guarantee. We pay postage both ways! Send $$ and film; write for mailer. Mystic Color Lab, Box R-144, Mystic, Conn. 06355

MUSKIE 72, bumperstickers 4/$1.00, buttons 5/$1.00. MUSKIE, 375 Buena Vista, Bridgeport, Conn. 06604.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1½'x2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.

HUMANISM: A non-theistic philosophy for persons of goodwill, who appreciate the scientific viewpoint. Free information. American Humanist Association, Dept. NR, 125 El Camino del Mar, San Francisco, California 94121.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will forms and attorney's information book. $1.50. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1830 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

VERMONT SUMMER ARTS CENTER, formerly at Goddard College, now at Lyndon State College, June 27-August 21. Chamber music, visual arts, crafts, dance. Find old friends and new in Vermont hills. Write: Bluma Jacobs, Director, Lyndon State College, Lyndonville, Vermont 05851.

PUT ANTI-POLLUTION PUNCHES INTO YOUR CORRESPONDENCE with our Anti-Pol Rubber Stamp Pak. Four stamps $3.00. Quantity discount list included. Spectrum Rubber Stamps, 1619 Pineview Rd., Charleston, South Carolina 20407.

WHAT'S UP DOWN UNDER – Clearest, most complete, accurate and up-to-date Australia information package, $1.50. Information Bureau Publications, 213 Garden Road, Towson, Md. 21204.

SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalogue free. Autosuggestion, Box 24 – NR, Olympia, Washington.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS without exception. The right of each adult human to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law, without exception. – AAAL, P.O. Box 36122, Los Angeles 00036.

BRAINWAVE FEEDBACK Electroencephalophone. Information 10¢ J&J Enterprises, 8102-R, Bainbridge, Wash. 98110.

Peace Personals

POSTERS (over 300, many anti-war) BUTTONS (over 175) PATCHES, BUMPERSTICKERS & other peace items. Wholesale & retail. Catalogue with pictures 25¢ (refund 1st order). A BIG LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission St., San Francisco, 94103.

"McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT" Bumperstickers, 5/$1; Buttons, 4/$1; Matchbooks, 50/$1; Emery Boards, 10/$1. McGovern Products, Box 10002, Kansas City, Missouri 64111.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS, Low-cost, custom made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Please state intended use for appropriate samples. Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 8551 Page Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63114. Phone (314) 423-5495.

Literature

FREE BOOK. Prophet Elijah Coming Before Christ. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 72, 481 Thurston Road, Rochester, N.Y. 14619.

1970 (6th Edition) Small Magazine/Press Directory – $2.50/copy; $8.00/4-year subscription. DUST-books, R.2, 5218 Scottwood Road, Paradise, California 95969.

BEST BOOKFINDERS IN NEW YORK: ORSAY BOOKS, 86-32 N. Eliot Ave., Rego Park, New York City 11374.

BACK DATE MAGAZINES: Send needs. Midtown Box 917-NR, Maywood, New Jersey 07607.

Authors

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors: publicity, advertising, promotion, beautiful books. All subjects invited. Send for free manuscript report and detailed booklet. Carlton Press, Dept. RZT 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

PROFESSIONAL EDITOR-WRITER will analyze and/or revise fiction – non-fiction. Market Ideas, New Republic, Box #4735.

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphicopy, Box 285R, Floral Park, N.Y. 11001.

WRITERS – "UNSALABLE" BOOK MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

Schools

RETURNING TO SCHOOL could be joyous for you – at Sandy Spring Friends. Especially if you want this kind of opportunity: *Make the decisions that promote self-discipline *Discover what makes you proud of yourself *Learn to meet your own needs *now* and provide for the future *Fit the world of ideas to the world of immediate experience *Expand individual capacity, through a demanding and varied school program . . . : Co-ed; boarding and day; grades 10-12. Write to Sandy Spring Friends School, Sandy Spring, Maryland 20860, or call 301/774-7455.

JOHN WOOLMAN SCHOOL, Quaker - coed, 65 students, 10-12 grades, accredited. Curriculum: college prep, gardening, farm, art, music. Character: rural, informal, progressive. Rt. 1 Box J-26, Nevada City, Ca. 95959, (916) 273-3183.

TEACHING GAMES - Free information from, postcard to: Games Central, 55 Wheeler Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02138.

COLLEGE ADMISSIONS AND TRANSFERS – Specializing in difficult cases – undergraduates, college transfers, medical, law, veterinarian, graduate, dental. College Admissions Center of N.Y. 102-30 Queens Boulevard, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375 or call "Richard Collins" 212-BR5-2900

HEIFER HILL SCHOOL, humanistic, coed, ages 12 through 16. Program integrates work, study, travel. Farm setting, small enrollment. R#2 Box 196A, Brattleboro, Vermont 05301

Camps

SUMMERHILL CAMP AND SCHOOL. Freedom with responsibility, learning because it's exciting, not compulsory. Summer program: reading, math, nature, swimming, riding, camping, art, music, drama, group discussion. OPEN COMMUNITY SCHOOL, Box 5R, Claverack, N.Y. 12513.

Foreign Studies

MEET RUSSIANS FACE-TO-FACE in USSR. 3 Wk., non-political exchange visits depart Aug. 3, August 24. Qualified Americans, all ages, occupations. Citizen Exchange Corps Dept. NR 7/71 10 W. 46th St. NYC 581-8113

Employment Wanted

YOUNG MAN seeks work for social change. Experience: nonprofit agency administration, writing, editing, research, fundraising, community organizing. Alan Swenson, 60 Brookdale Gardens, Bloomfield, N.J. 07003.

EXPERIENCED YOUNG ARMY PHOTOGRAPHER returning from Vietnam seeks challenging work in documentary, news, commercial filming 16mm mopic double system sound filming. Available in September, New Republic Box 4915.

Employment Opportunities

SCIENTISTS & LAWYERS: A public interest research group, funded through student fees, seeks professional scientists and lawyers to work in areas of public concern. Priorities geared to environmental quality, consumer protection and corporate review. Send resumes to Minnesota Public Interest Research Group, 225 Coffman, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455. Telephone: (612) 376-7554.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CIVILIZED WOMAN, 25-35 (more or less), to share large country home, housekeeping, secretarial work, baby, travel with writer-college professor pair. Own apartment; remuneration. Excellent skiing and water sports nearby. Write P.O. Box 204, Bradford, New Hampshire, 03221.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU!!! Government Assisted Passage. 1971 Government Information and Forms – Most Complete Information Available – $1.00. Reports on Employment, Business, Taxes, Education, Teaching, Housing, Ranching, Maps, etc. AUSTCO Box 3623-EE Long Beach, California 90803.

WORK IN DEVELOPING MEXICO. Rapid advancement, negligible taxes, inexpensive entertainment, pleasant living, peace. List of 200 United States, international, Mexican companies. Immigration procedure. $4.00 Infomex, NR 971, Box 366, Berea, Ohio 44017.

HIGHER EDUCATION; SECONDARY EDUCATION; SOCIAL - ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. New approach. Comprehensive. Current, Nationwide. Directories of Positions. All fields. Write Intercept-Sociocom, Box 317, Harvard Square P.O., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

BOOMING AUSTRALIA NEEDS YOU – New 1971 Australian Handbook describing free passage, employment opportunities, business, farming, teaching etc. $1.00. Employment directories: Australian businesses $1.00. U.S. businesses there $1.00. All three $2.00 (550 employers listed.) Buckeye, Box 1032NT, Fairborn, Ohio 45324.

EUROPEAN – FOREIGN EMPLOYMENT – Detailed report on currently available jobs – Europe, Australia, Africa, $3.00. Eurojob Report, Box 52643 – P, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new booklet covers all possibilities, sixty countries. Includes exclusive "Directory of 200 American Companies Overseas" and special reports on summer jobs, government careers, international organizations, teaching, librarian, secretarial, newspaper, medical and social work overseas. $2.00. Satisfaction guaranteed or payment refunded. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York 11730.

JOBS! OVERSEAS-U.S.A. Year-round and Summer Jobs. Jobs with Money, Challenge, Opportunity, Travel. All occupations and trades. Write: JOBSCOPE, Box 746, NR, Woodbridge, California 95258.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Box 942-N, Belmont, California 94002.

Property-Sale/Rent

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA – ON LOVELY LARGE STREAM. Beautiful two-acre forested parcels. A unique plan, very small, private, with natural beauty preserved by restrictions. Excellent riding, swimming, fishing and dramatic mountain view. Year around paved access. No bulldozers, costly promotion or hard sell. Sierras, between Almanor and Antelope Lakes. Write owner, H. Page, Taylorsville California.

GOVERNMENT LANDS . . . Low as $3.50 Acre! Vacationing, Homesteading, Investment! Exclusive "Government Land Buyer's Guide" . . . plus "Land Opportunity Review" listing lands available throughout U.S., send $1.00. Surplus Lands, Box 19107-SM, Washington, D.C. 20036.

MOVING TO CLEVELAND? For a refreshing experience in modern suburban living, The Shaker Communities offer: A nationally recognized school system; superior municipal services; year-round recreation programs; nearness to Greater Cleveland's cultural-education center and to downtown; fine shopping centers; forward looking, integrated communities. Contact The Shaker Communities, 3494 Lee Road, Suite 207, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120. (216) 751-2155.

Vacations/Travel

RELAX THIS SUMMER in gorgeous Colorado mountain resort. Horses, pack trips, hiking trails, heated pool, tennis courts, trout fishing, spacious lodge and dining hall. Family cabins, all meals provided. Rustic and informal, good conversation. RAINBOW TROUT LODGES, Antonito, Colorado 81120.

AUTO BABYSITTERS. INDOOR parking. Rates LOWER than outdoor airport/pier parking. Pick-up/delivery. Branches throughout NYC, Savoy Garages, 827 Sterling Place, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11216 (212) 493-9800.

CHARTER FLIGHT HANDBOOK, 1,100 organization named. Particulars free. TIB, P.O. Box 105n, Kings Park, N.Y. 11754.

SWISS RESORT. AAA. Nature, Peace, Beauty. Swimming, sports. Modern comfort; excellent library; Swiss cuisine. Snowvillage Lodge, Snowville, NH 03877. Tel. Conway 603-447-2818.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.75. Rates, schedules, 700 passenger carrying freighters. TravLtips, 40-21, JGK, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

Greenery

BONSAI: ZELKOVA NIRE, WIRED, POTTED (CLAY), $25.00, plus $3.00 shipping. Illustrated catalogue 25¢. SAKASHIMAYA, Grahamsville, New York 12740.

BONSAI (DWARF) TREES. America's oldest growers of aged Bonsai. Free catalogue. HEIROB BONSAI NURSERY, Hampton, Livingston Manor, New York 12758.

Cookery

HIPPO HAMBURGER COOK BOOK Illustrated in color by Wolo from the famous San Francisco Hippo Restaurant. $3.50, Van Ness at Pacific. San Francisco, California 94109.

LEFTY? Or love someone who is? Deluxe kit contains fine cooking tools, each operates easily left-handed. Prices and product details from The Aristera Organization, Dept. N1, 9 Rice's Lane, Westport, Conn. 06880.

WINEMAKING KIT . . . $4.98. Free recipes – Catalog. JIMDANDY, Box 30230-XX, Cincinnati, Ohio 45230.

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 18, 799 Broadway, NYC 10003.

Arts & Crafts

YIN YANG PENDANT of wood and leather. Unique gift with subtle but vivid color evolution! $3. Additional designs forthcoming. Helidform Crafts, Box 296, Murrysville, Pa. 15668.

MACRAME KITS. Easily learn ART OF CREATIVE KNOTTING. KITS contain everything needed to quickly create driftwood-mounted WALL HANGING; white TIE BELT, choice of bead colors; SPIRAL NECKLACE, white, navy or light blue cord, color-coordinated beads. INCLUDES step-by-step illustrated instructions, precut cord, deluxe wooden beads, working board, T-pins. State KIT, COLOR preferences. $3.99 each. Three $10.99 POSTPAID. No COD. MEnterprises, PO Box 344, Temple City, California 91780

COLLECT FINE ORIGINAL ETCHINGS and lithographs by the world's great artists including Rembrandt, Picasso, Roualt, Soyer, Landau and Florsheim. Free illustrated catalogue and Master Print Supplement. (Mail 25¢ for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6, 663 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10022.

"GETTING STARTED IN STAINED GLASS" 25c. Whittemore, Box 2065PP, Hanover, Massachusetts 02339.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Box 28F, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

APPALACHIAN QUILTS, a quality product, from $25.00 and up. Write Pike County Citizens Association, Box 10, Hellier, Kentucky 41534.

Sports Equipment

LIGHTWEIGHT BACKPACK AND MOUNTAINEERING EQUIPMENT. Imported, Domestic Canoes and Kayaks for day trips, voyageuring, or white-water. Free catalog. MOOR & MOUNTAIN, Dept. 44, Main St., Concord, Mass. 07142.

Records/Tapes

FREE 64 PAGE CATALOG Offers hundreds of recordings of rare Renaissance Baroque and Classical music. Introductory records as low as $1.00 each! All late recordings. In Stereo only. MHS Records, Box 932-NR, New York 10023.

Music

BURTON HARPSICHORDS—Professional instrument in kit form, Burton Jacks (patented) $195.00 to $650.00. Write Herbert W. Burton, 917 "O" Street, Box 80222 (N), Lincoln, Nebraska 68501.

EASY TO PLAY AND MAKE instruments. Thumb Pianos $10, kit $5; Dulcimers now $45 up, kits $18 up; Psalteries, Banjos; Dulcimer book, record; HERE, INC., #N, Box 341, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440.

B.W.M. BENN HARPSICHORDS, finest custom; clavichords, spinets, 4424 Judson, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55435

HARPSICHORDS with the most beautiful sound, from North America's leading makers. For catalog send 25¢ to: SABATHIL & SON, Dept. 2, 1084 Homer, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

APPALACHIAN DULCIMERS – Handmade. From $40.00. Instructions. Max Wilson, Rt 3, Paoli, Indiana.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) . . . . . 60¢
Per word 6 times in one contract year . . . . . .55¢
Per word 12 times in one contract year . . . . .50¢
Per word 24 times in one contract year . . . 45¢
Per word 48 times in one contract year . . . 40¢

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

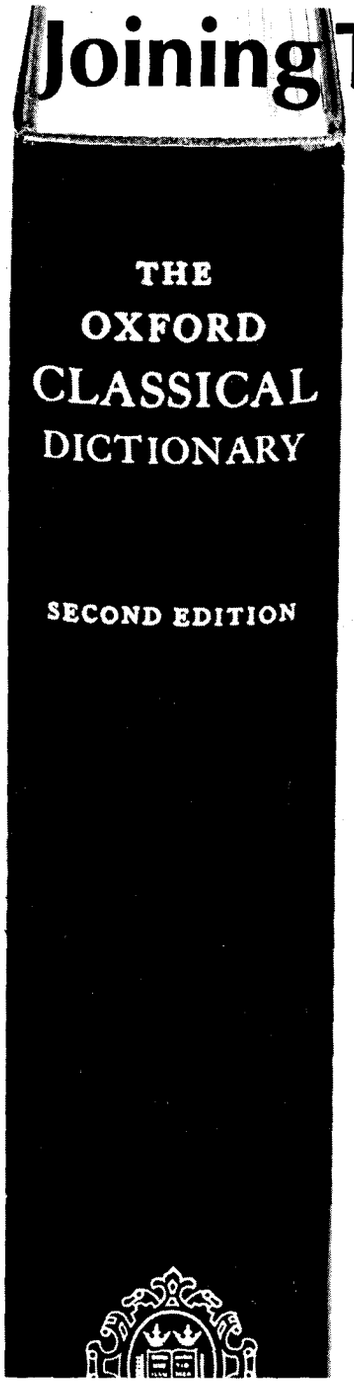
24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Printed by Merkle Press, Inc. Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Joining The Readers' Subscription is like being invited to an intellectual feast.



Look who else is coming to dinner: Bertolt Brecht • John Simon • Leo Tolstoy • Wallace Stevens • Thomas Mann • Gertrude Stein • Bernard Shaw • William Butler Yeats • and that promising youngster whose first full-length novel has just been published, Fyodor Dostoevsky

MONTH after month, The Readers' Subscription offers its members rich intellectual nourishment: biographical, historical and critical writings that are larded with serious ideas—never diluted or watered down; choice fiction, poetry and drama—some of it from unfamiliar cultures and distant epochs, some of it from contemporary masters and the avant garde; reference guides to the works of sensibility and imagination which, like vintage wines, have passed the test of time.

If this is the kind of literary diet you savor, you would do well to become a regular partaker of the gourmet fare available to you constantly from The Readers' Subscription at reduced Member's Prices. By joining now, you receive the rare plum of a reference work pictured alongside, FREE as your Bonus Book in advance of your first four purchases—your first to be made now and the remaining three any time in the next 12 months. After that, you are free to resign. See coupon.

THIS $26 BOOK YOURS FREE

with your first Selection now and your agreement to take three more at reduced prices any time in the next 12 months

THE OXFORD CLASSICAL DICTIONARY

From Abaris, servant of Apollo, to Zosimus, historian of the Fifth Century... from the ascendancy of Athens to the collapse of Rome. This is the new, thoroughly revised and enlarged Second Edition of the most comprehensive and authoritative guide to classical antiquity ever published... spanning 23 centuries of art, literature, philosophy, religion, science, government and mythology.

• Published at $26 by Oxford University Press • 1176 double-columned pages, each 7¾ by 10⅛ inches • More than 5,000 encyclopedic articles and essays • 212 distinguished contributors • Fully indexed, nearly 4,000 individual entries.

START MEMBERSHIP WITH ANY ONE OF THESE 15 CURRENT SELECTIONS, ALL AVAILABLE AT REDUCED CLUB PRICES

(First price is publisher's list; second is reduced Member's Price)

Seven Plays by Bertolt Brecht Eric Bentley, Editor. *Mother Courage, Galileo, Good Woman of Setzuan, Caucasian Chalk Circle, In the Swamp, Saint Joan of the Stockyards,* and *A Man's a Man.* All complete. **$8.50/$6.50**

Harvard Dictionary of Music By Willi Apel. Second Edition. 935 double-columned pages. *The* encyclopedia of music history, musicians, composers, musical terms, concepts and compositions. **$20.00/$12.95**

Oxford History of English Literature By Ian Jack. Volume X (1815 to 1832): Byron, Shelley, Keats, Lamb, DeQuincey, Sir Walter Scott, Hazlitt, Peacock. **$11.00/$8.25**

Letters of Thomas Mann Richard and Clara Winston, translators. 760 pages. Spans 66 years of correspondence with Einstein, Gide, Freud, Hermann Hesse, Eleanor Roosevelt, others. **$17.50/$11.95**

Americans From Africa (2 vols) P. I. Rose, Editor. 960 pages total. From early slave days to today's *black revolution: writings* by Nat Turner, LeRoi Jones, Stokely Carmichael, Claude Brown, Martin Luther King, E. Franklin Frazier, Erik H. Erikson, others. The set **$25.00/$13.95**

Netochka Nezvanova By Fyodor Dostoevsky. Extraordinary find! His first full-length novel, never fully completed and never till now in English. The plot: a young girl confronts alcoholism, infidelity, decadence, vanity in Czarist Moscow. **$6.95/$5.95**

The Palm at the End of the Mind The definitive selection of the poetry of Wallace Stevens, as he wanted it preserved. Edited by his daughter, Holly Stevens. **$10.00/$7.50**

The Last Year of Leo Tolstoy By V. F. Bulgakov. Never before in English, the fascinating account by Tolstoy's secretary of the crackup of the master's home: breakdowns, suicide attempts, violent altercations, despair, death. **$7.95/$5.95**

Movies Into Film By John Simon. The brilliant, cranky, controversial film critic collects his favorite columns, 1967-1970: from Agee to Costa Gavras' Z. **$9.95/$7.50**

Oxford Companion to American Literature By James Hart. Fourth *Edition,* 991 *double-columned* pages, over 5,000 entries. The celebrated guide, updated, to American authors, writings, periodicals, literary schools, terms, sources, influences. **$12.50/$8.95**

Masks of Love and Death: Yeats By John Rees Moore. Yeats as dramatist: the techniques, meanings and rewards of his moody, lyrical, beautifully poetic plays—neglected treasures of the modern theater. **$9.75/$7.50**

Katherine Anne Porter Her own presentation of her poetry, essays, memoirs of her friends (including Eliot, Ford Madox Ford, Flannery O'Connor, Gertrude Stein), and excerpts from her work-in-progress on Cotton Mather. **$12.50/$8.95**

Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry & Poetics Alex Preminger, Editor. 906 pages, 215 contributors on the history, types and forms of poetry; techniques; allegory; myth; poetry in music. Covers every major language, nation, culture, era. **$15.00/$9.95**

Shaw: An Autobiography (2 vols) Selected from his writings by Stanley Weintraub. Witty, malicious, egotistical, startlingly candid and revealing. The set **$20.00/$12.95**

Gertrude Stein in Pieces By Richard Bridgman. The one critical-biographical study of the lady that stitches together all her literary, artistic and curious emotional "pieces." **$12.50/$8.50**

The Readers' Subscription
33A East 33rd Street New York, New York 10016

I want to become a member of The Readers' Subscription. Please send me the first Membership Selection indicated below, and my FREE *Oxford Classical Dictionary.* The *Dictionary* is my first Bonus Book given me in advance of my first four purchases of Membership Selections. I may choose the remaining three Selections any time during the next 12 months. Then, after completing the series of four Selection purchases, I am free to resign. However, if I remain I will be eligible to receive another valuable Bonus Book after every four additional Selections I take. *All Selections are offered at reduced prices.*

The forthcoming Selection will be announced to me in the free literary brochure, *The Griffin.* If I want it, I need do nothing; it will come to me automatically. If I want another book instead, or no Selection at all that month, I simply let you know on the *return card which is always enclosed with each Griffin.*

FIRST SELECTION_____

BILL ME AT MEMBER'S PRICE SHOWN plus postage, handling and applicable tax ☐

PAYMENT FOR SELECTION ENCLOSED. Add appropriate tax; we pay postage and handling ☐

Your Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Home address if other than above_____

Your signature, please_____

Note to foreign subscribers: we will be pleased to accept membership applications and will advise you of special conditions.

NR 711/2

BALDWIN-WALLACE COLLEGE BUTLER LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED